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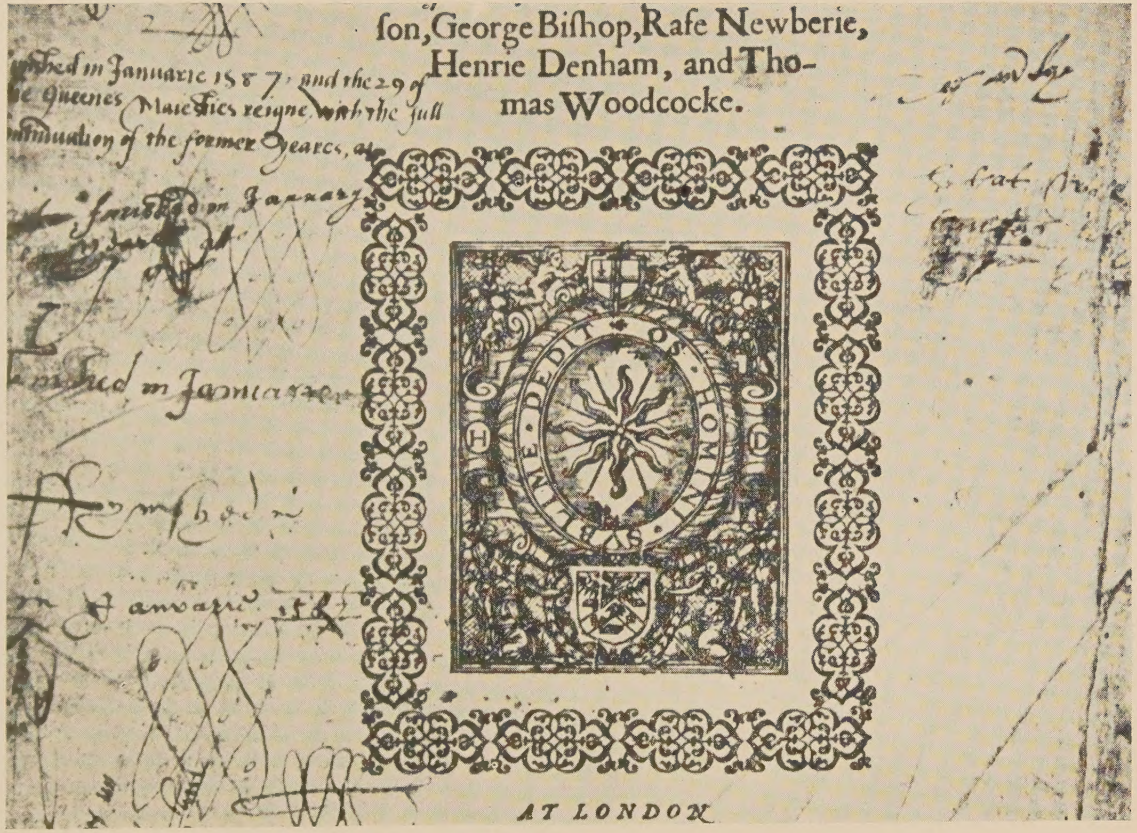

Part of a page in a copy of Holinshed showing alleged Shakspere writing

"ONE PART WISDOM," AND EVER TWO PARTS—?

By CELIA HANDLEMAN and R. W. BABCOCK

I.

THE late William Archer called *Hamlet* chaos.[1] Professor Warner G. Rice, at a Michigan Academy meeting, recently remarked, with regard to textual criticism, "What Shakspere wrote we shall never, of course, be sure". The *London Times Literary Supplement,* in April and May, 1936, indulged in some argumentative and speculative correspondence (on the part of Messrs. Percy Allen, W. W. Greg, and L. L. Schücking) regarding the amazing length of a play which was supposed to have been produced on an Elizabethan stage in two hours.[2] *Hamlet* itself, presented recently at Ann Arbor by Ian Keith in the annual Dramatic Festival, was cut to pieces and then split in half, for two-part presentation, the second part beginning "with the famous 'mad scene of Ophelia'."[3] In other words, here is a play which is much too long for production on the modern stage within *three* hours; how, then, could it ever have been written by Shakspere for a two-hour stage? Greg, Schücking, Spencer, and Hart, among others, have all offered answers[4] to this problem, but they are answers which strike us as too speculative to be satisfactory. Hence, following a hint thrown out in 1915[5] by the late J. M. Robertson that the Kyd play was probably a two-part play (a hint accepted by De Groot in 1923,[6] and by no other critic of *Hamlet*—so far as we have been able to discover), we propose to show (1) that Shakspere's original *Hamlet* was, in all probability, a two-part play, (2) that Q2 and F1 are both merely partially telescoped acting versions of this original Shaksperian version which never got into print, and (3) that, incidentally, Q1 is a pirated text stolen by the prompt-book keeper whose

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1 Quoted by J. M. Robertson in *The Criterion,* III (Jan., 1925), 186.
2 "Stage or Study", *TLS,* April 11, May 2, 9, and 16, 1936.
3 The Program, May 30, 1936—Mr. Keith's note.
4 These answers will be discussed at length in Section II, below.
5 In *The Problem of Hamlet.* See Section V below.
6 In *'Hamlet', its Textual History.* See Section V below.

memorial reconstruction probably prepared the play for a touring company.[7] With Q1, however, we are not now concerned, except in so far as (a) the printer, Ling, was the same man who printed Q2, and (b) its characteristics may appear in Q2. We therefore suggest, finally, that Q2 may even be a partially pirated version of this original two-part play and that, beyond any doubt, F1 now provides the best text available of the partly telescoped play.

II.

The inordinate length of *Hamlet* is a fact quite at variance with our knowledge of the customs of the Elizabethan theatre, which seem to have prescribed a two-hour time limit for theatrical representation.[8] The play, numbering nearly 4,000 lines, exceeds the "two short houres traffique of our stage"[9] by being "nearly twice too long for acting."[10] As a modern instance in point, *Hamlet,* shown in its entirety at the turn of this century in Benson's production of the unabridged folio version, lasted a full six hours.[11] Thus, a veritable snag in the design of Shakspere's masterpiece, its excessive length bristles with contradictions which critics are hard put to reconcile with its Elizabethan background.[12]

In an attempt to determine the average length of an Elizabethan play, Mr. Hart and Mr. Schücking, working independently, proved, after a comprehentive investigation of extant Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, that the average

7 This is properly the thesis of Dr. Leo Kirschbaum in his recent University of Michigan Doctoral Dissertation. We shall merely use it as a basis for conjecture later as to the origin of Q2.

8 Throughout the whole of this discussion concerning the length of Elizabethan plays and the time allotted to their representation, we are mainly indebted to Mr. Alfred Hart's valuable articles in *RES* in 1932 and 1934: "The Number of Lines in Shakespeare's Plays", VIII (1932), 19-28; "The Length of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays", VIII (1932), 395-413; "Acting Versions of Elizabethan Plays", X 1934), 1-28. (These essays have been reprinted in Mr. Hart's book, *Shakespeare and the Homilies,* Melbourne, 1934).

9 This is a phrase frequently encountered in prologues to Elizabethan plays. Shakspere refers to it twice, in the prologues to *Romeo and Juliet* (line 12), and to *Henry VIII* (line 13).

10 Hazleton Spencer, "17th Century Cuts in Hamlet's Soliloquies", *RES,* IX (1933), 258. Compare W. J. Lawrence's remark in *TLS,* June 6, 1935: ". . . it had to be reduced by a third before it could be acted."

11 See *The Athenaeum,* March 10, 1900.

12 Note, for example, J. D. Wilson's remark in *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'*, (London, 1934) I, 174: "Whether he imagined that they would perform a play of over 3760 lines without abridgement we do not know."

length of an Elizabethan play was about 2,500 lines,[13] thus considerably reducing the previously alleged norm of 3,000 lines.[14] Hence it follows that *Hamlet,* the longest of Shakspere's dramas, 3668 lines, in the Quarto of 1604 and 3537 lines in the Folio of 1623, diverges from the Elizabethan norm by being more than one-half as long.[15] Mr. Hart has also proved beyond cavil that the Elizabethan stage allotted but two hours to the performance of a play,[16] in contradistinction to the 2½ to 3 hour time limit sometimes allotted by modern critics.[17] *Hamlet,* because of its extreme length, could not have been produced on the Elizabethan stage within two hours—a point which should be kept in mind in connection with our further contention that it was originally a two-part play. Some of Shakspere's other plays, ten in number, rising slightly above 3000 lines may also have been two-part plays or may have been reduced for acting purposes.

In an attempt to account for its excessive length, considerable discussion has appeared lately in a series of letters in the *T L S* under the caption of "Stage or Study", as we mentioned in our introduction.[18] Schücking contends that Shakspere wrote "for his future readers",[19] a view which Messrs. Van Dam,[20] Greg,[21] and Allen[22] also hold, albeit they are inclined to contradict one another at times.[23] All

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13 Hart, in his second essay, *op. cit.* (1932), p. 154. Actually he indicated later, *op. cit.,* (1934), p. 1, that the average length of an Elizabethan play written between 1587-1616 did not exceed 2400 lines. Dr. Schücking, *Zum Problem der Ueberlieferung des Hamlet-Textes* (Leipzig, 1931), reviewed by B. A. P. Van Dam in *ES,* XIV (1932), 88-90.

14 In J. D. Wilson, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1921), p. 81; and also in his book, *The 'Hamlet' Transcript* (1918), p. 38. 15 Hart, *op. cit.* (1934), p. 24.

16 Hart, in his third essay, *op. cit.,* 1932. Many other critics allow but two hours to theatrical performance. See, for example, Van Dam, *The Text of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (London, 1924), p. 14; C. H. Herford, *A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation* (London, 1923), p. 13; Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about Shakespeare* (New York, 1913), p. 125.

17 See Hart's general statement, *op. cit.* (1932), p. 402. 18 See note 2 above.

19 Quoted by Van Dam in his review of Schücking, *op. cit.,* p. 90, and "Stage or Study", *op. cit.,* May 16.

20 Review of Schücking, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

21 "Stage or Study", *op. cit.,* May 2. 22 *Ibid.,* April 11 and May 9.

23 Compare, for example, Van Dam's remark in *The Text of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet',* p. 110: "But it is certain that Shakespeare's plays were not in the first place written for actors; they were written to be acted on the stage"; of Schücking's theory, W. W. Greg, in *RES,* VIII (1932), 231, has this to say: "But it must be admitted that it involves a good deal of guessing"; and, finally, Allen asserts, on the one hand, in "Stage or Study", *op. cit.,* April 11: "*Hamlet* Q2 was written by Shakespeare, not for the stage but for publication, as a counterblast to, and protest against, the pirated Q1,", and, on the other, *ibid.,* May 9: "I have never supposed that the writing of Q2 followed the publication of Q1."

these scholars maintain that the *Hamlet* was not intended solely for stage performance but for publication, a view which is indefensible since it runs directly counter to extant evidence. We cite, even at the expense of repetition, certain important factors operating in its disfavor which would throw it out of court by the general consensus of modern scholars:[24] viz., the system of patronage which forbade a gentleman-author to receive payment for literary production, since to do so belittled him in the eyes of his peers; the avowal of contemporary authors and players that it was not to their liking, and against their policy, to be "voluminously read";[25] the great haste and indiscriminate collaboration with which plays were written at the company's behest. All these would have been effective dampers to an author's lust for fame. Moreover, with no play-reading audience in existence,[26] the absence of dramatic theory, and the dearth of extant plays, we are constrained to deny to Shakspere any interest in publication so far as his plays were concerned. No, "we need not hug the flattering delusion to our souls that Shakspeare ever gave any thoughts to posterity."[27] For him as for his fellow-playwrights publication was out of mind and out of order.[28]

Posterity being out of the reckoning, we find our credence further strained by Hazelton Spencer, who maintains that Shakspere so " 'flowed with that facility' in composition as well as conversation" that he had need to curb it by his own hand during rehearsals.[29] Admitting that Shakspere did

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24 Among others, we cite: A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare's Fight With the Pirates* (1920), pp. 26-37; W. M. A. Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* 1926), Book II, especially pp. 79-80; Neilson and Thorndike, *op. cit.*, chap. VII (especially pp. 131-37). And see Greg's review of Schüking, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.

25 Thomas Heywood, in the Address to the Reader, prefixed to the *English Traveller.*

26 Mr. F. W. Bateson, "The Genuine Text", *TLS,* May 9, 1935: ". . . a reading public for the popular drama did not come into existence until after his death."

27 W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies,* 1927)), p. 66; compare Wilson's remark, *The Manuscript,* I, 91: "Shakespeare was a working dramatist, who always thought in terms of the stage, and never so far as we know ever [*sic*] contemplated any other kind of publication for his plays than that which stage-performance gives."

28 See note 132 below on the absence of play entries in the *Stationer's Register.* The notable exception to the rule was Ben Jonson, who published his plays in a folio volume, an undertaking so unusual that he was scoffed at by his fellow-playwrights. Financially, the *Workes* must be adjudged a failure, for twenty-four years elapsed between the publication of the first and second editions. See E. E. Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare* (1934), p. 162.

29 Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

thus participate in the abridgement of his own plays, that, in fact, his rôle as playwright did not exempt him from the business of stage production—an argument supported by Wilson,[30] Bradbrook, [31] and Robertson[32]—it is nothing short of unreasonable to assume that a man so thoroughly aware of the exigencies of the theater, knowing through what a hacking process his play must ultimately pass, should indulge to such great length his flowing " 'facility in composition' ".

Other scholars, preëminently Hart,[33] Sprague,[34] Cumberland Clark,[35] and Creizenach,[36] turn to the idea of poetic exuberance as a way out of the dilemma. They depict Shakspere as giving way to his unbridled fancy, apparently indifferent to the conditions of the theatre he so thoroughly respected. Mr. Hart, for instance, contends that though Shakspere was the foremost dramatist of his day, fully realizing to what a deformed end abridgement would bring his plays, he "was first, and above all, a poet and creative artist . . . writing as much as the poet-artist thought fit;"[37] Mr. Sprague, that though he took his audience to heart, "he also wrote to please himself.[38] All of which reasoning is, obviously enough, a contradiction in terms, inadmissible on the score that it is difficult to understand how Shakspere could manage to forget the first principles of his trade, namely, a consideration of his stage and his audience, which, in fact, he always remembered![39]

Hamlet, the longest play of the canon, therefore remains a puzzle so far as its production on the Elizabethan stage is concerned; and we think that no explanation hitherto advanced has adequately solved the matter.

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30 *The Manuscript,* I, 154, 166, 168, 172.

31 See note 86, below.

31 See note 86, below.

32 In *The Problem of Hamlet* (London, 1919), p. 31.

33 *Op. cit.* (1934), pp. 26-7.

34 *Shakespeare and the Audience* (1935), p. 311.

35 In *A Study of Hamlet* (Stratford, 1926), p. 9: ". . . it seems that the poet could not resist the temptation to give expression in exquisite poetry to ideas which he felt so deeply himself."

36 *Op. cit.,* p. 248: "One cannot doubt that in the case of dramas as long as *Hamlet,* the poet gave free reign to his genius . . ."

37 See note 33, above. Shakespeare, says Mr. Hart in desperation, had "that last infirmity of noble mind." (p. 27).

38 See note 34, above.

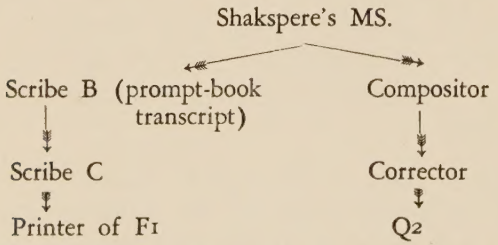
39 *Cf.* E. E. Stoll, *Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study* (1919), p. 4: "He always followed the tradition of the stage, he never ignored it or defied it."

We turn now to a textual discussion of the longest version of *Hamlet,* Q2, in an attempt to break down its value as an authoritative text and to demonstrate its value as an indication of the original two-part construction of *Hamlet*—a view which would settle the above problem on the theory of production on two days instead of one.

III.

Assuming, then, (1) that *Hamlet,* as we have it today, is far too long to meet the Elizabethan requirement of a two-hour production, and (2) that the recent explanations of this extraordinary length are at least not wholly satisfactory, let us attempt first a simple, tentative history of the *Hamlet* text, particularly before 1601, the date set by most critics for Shakspere's final treatment of the play.[40]

What we are especially interested in now is the possibility of an intermediate version, or perhaps versions, between Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet* and the Q2 (or F1) text, whether this version is Shaksperian or not.[41]. Wilson's recent analysis[42] of the text from 1601 on looks something like this:



Yet almost twenty years ago Wilson proposed a stemma for *Hamlet*[43] before 1601 which went thus:

40 See, for example, H. R. Walley, "The Date of *Hamlet*", *RES,* IX (1933), 397-409. Compare also Wilson's *Preface* to *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (1934), p. xvi; G. B. Harrison, *Shakespeare at Work* (1933), pp. 274-277. Mr. W. J. Lawrence still holds for 1600 in *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans* (1935), pp. 66 and 66n. We shall look forward to an article on this subject by Dr. Leo Kirschbaum in *SP.*

41 Q1 has nothing to do with such a search because it is a pirated version of Q2. See Walley, *op. cit.,* p. 399. This idea, we believe, is generally accepted now.

42 *The Manuscript,* chap. II and III.

43 *The Library,* 3d Series, No 35, IX (July, 1918), 153-85, and No. 36, IX (Oct., 1918), 217-47.

Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet* (*c.* 1589)

"*Hamlet* was probably first written by a dramatist rejoicing in the 'Ur-Hamlet' style."[44] (1590?)

". . . worked over by one or more other dramatists, possibly for a company which liked its prose in verse-lining"—1591.[45]

". . . Shakespeare . . . began a revision on his own account, a revision which, when the transcript came to be made, had not extended much beyond the ghost-scenes"—1591-2.[46]

Then came the Plague in 1593, and the company went on tour with a transcript of the last version cut to 1500-2000 lines. It is this transcript, says Wilson, which was pirated by actors[47] and became Q1. Presumably, then, Shakspere went back to work on the play in 1594-5 and finally produced some sort of version which we have in too long a form (for one play) and in Q2 and F1. The point to be noted now, particularly, is that Wilson's stemma implies that *several* versions of *Hamlet* must have been written in the 1590's before our Q2 was ever completed. No one else, so far as we know, has ever been so lavish as this.

De Groot,[48], Creizenach,[49], Lewis,[50], Robertson,[51] Boas,[52], Ramello,[53] and Gray,[54], among others, all posit some intermediate version between Kyd and Shakspere, some "lost" MS., but not all of them assign it to Shakspere, by any means, Waldock,[55], Robertson, Ramello, and Bradby[56] do definitely ascribe it to Shakspere.[57]. Wilson stands practically alone

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44 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 238. For date see p. 240.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 238. For date see p. 242.
47 We do not agree, of course, with this actor-piracy idea. See De Groot's refutation of it in *Hamlet, its Textual History* (1923), chap. V.
48 *Op. cit.*, chap. III, especially pp. 105, 107-8.
49 *MP*, II (Oct., 1904), 1-12.
50 *The Genesis of Hamlet* (1907), p. 20.
51 *Criterion*, IV (1925), 182, 189.
52 *The Works of Thomas Kyd* (1901), Introduction, p. viii.
53 See review in *TLS*, Dec. 20, 1934.
54 *PMLA*, XLII (Sept., 1927), 721-35.
55 A. J. A. Waldock, *Hamlet: a Study in Critical Method* (1931), p. 1.
56 C. F. Bradby, *The Problems of 'Hamlet'* (1928), pp. 13-14.
57 Mr. W. J. Lawrence now dates the "To be or not to be" soliloquy as of 1597, *Life and Letters*, XI (1935), 320-3. Mr. Lawrence has also pointed out a "clumsy interpolation in the second quarto" in the *TLS*, May 23, 1935.

in proposing both a non-Shaksperian version and a Shaksperian rehandling.[58] His comprehensive idea is, however, not necessary to our exposition, for we are merely building up a definite probability of some intermediate version, and we are inclined to follow the critics who call it Shakspere.[58a]

Nor are we interested in the exegesis of the German play or of Q1, except in so far as some peculiar characteristics of the latter may be applied to Q2. Whatever the German play may be (and in the light of Wilson's proposed long stemma above, it might be a touring version of any one of several originals,)[59] Q1 is obviously a pirated text, of a piece with the other bad quartos, all of which contain similar flaws, such as absorption by one speaker of another speaker's intervening speech, borrowing by one character of another character's lines, telescoping of passages similar in meaning or construction, rewording or substitution of words, auditory errors, together with other well-known traits of "bad" quartos.[60] Neither shorthand nor a pirate actor will account for the whole picture. Mr. W. J. Lawrence therefore proposes a pirate adapter for a touring company,[61] Mr. Leo Kirschbaum a pirate promptbook keeper.[62] We are inclined to agree with Mr. Kirschbaum, but what concerns us more is whether any of the aspects of the bad Q's may be applied to Q2. Or, even if they cannot, just how valuable is Q2 as a text of *Hamlet?* This, in blunt questioning of Wilson's view expounded in his recent edition of the play.

Laying Q2 side by side with F1 (as, for example, in the W. Vietor *Parallel Texts* edition of *Hamlet*),[63] some rather astonishing facts appear, facts which Mr. Wilson seems either to have overlooked or to have misinterpreted. The first phenomenon that strikes us is that in the six (really eight) main excrescences in Q2 (that is, passages not found

58 Compare Mr. Wilson's more recent remark in *TLS,* May 30, 1935: "As a matter of fact I think it quite likely that a Shakesperian *Hamlet* existed before 1601, and that the manuscript from which Q2 was printed was a revision of it."

58a Mr. A. S. Cairncross in his recent *The Problem of 'Hamlet', a Solution* (Macmillan, 1936), declares that even the 1589 *Hamlet* was Shakspere's!

59 Compare Creizenach's article on it in *MP,* II (Oct., 1904), 1-12.

60 For these ideas we are again indebted mainly to Dr. Kirschbaum of the University of Michigan.

61 The *Criterion,* X (1931), 447-61. Mr. A. Hart follows this idea in his "Acting Versions of Elizabethan Plays", *RES,* X (1934), 1-28.

62 In his University of Michigan Doctoral Dissertation.

63 Marburg, 1891. All line-numbering below will refer to this text.

in F1), as was pointed out by Mr. Cumberland Clark,[64] appear the worst cruxes in the text of *Hamlet*. In the first, in I, 1, Horatio's lines on the prodigies in Rome, there is the famous muddle of the "mightiest Julius" passage. (Mr. Wilson suggests transposition,[65] an idea we shall come back to later.) In the second, in Hamlet's speech on drunkenness in I, 4, appears the equally famous "dram of eale" confusion. In the third, in III, iv, 161 ff., occur such problematical lines as: "That monster custome . . . of habits devill", "That aptly is put on—to refraine night", and "And either the devil or throw him out"—all in Q2! In the fourth, in the same scene of Act III, lines 202-10 of Q2 give the very confusing double-ending of this act which is not present in the F1 text. The fifth excrescence is in Act IV, Sc. iv, and here, beyond a possible mix-up of prose and verse, there appears no great crux (we shall explain this later), although it is rather strange that Q2 should have here fifty-eight lines which are not in F1—the longest excrescence in Q2. The sixth passage appears in IV, vii, 115-26 and contains some peculiar punctuation in line 119, a mixup such as "we should doe when we would: for this would change" (which Mr. Wilson carefully emends) in line 120, and two substitutions of the auxiliary verb "are" in l. 122: not very bad errors, on the whole. Finally, in Act V there are two passages, lines 110-40 and 203-18, involving two calls to the duel,[66] the latter by "a Lord", the first by "a Courtier", who is not named in Q2 till line 204 and then called "Ostricke", whereas the Folio has the correct "Osricke" from the beginning.[67] Now, is it not rather astonishing that all these well-known textual problems of *Hamlet* appear in the passages of Q2 which are not in F1, passages, therefore, which we can not check by reference to F1 or to any other printed text?[68] Just what is behind such a text whose *extra* lines present such startling muddles?

Nor is this the whole of the peculiar story of Q2. There are three glaring omissions in this text—*i.e.,* passages which

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64 *A Study of 'Hamlet'* (Stratford, 1926), p. 56.

65 *The Manuscript,* II, 223.

66 Compare the confused double-ending of Act III above.

67 The Quarto of 1676 still follows Q2 in this spelling.

68 Other minor excrescences in Q2 appear in I, ii, 59-60; I, iv, 75-8; I, v, , 160-1; II, ii, 17, 489; III, ii, 181-2; 228-9; III, iv, 71-5, 78-81; IV, v, 3, 40-4; IV, vii, 41, 69-81, 101-3. All line-numbering refers to the Vietor text, as indicated above.

appear in good form in F1. Two occur in Act II. The first (lines 245-78) deals with "Denmark's a prison" and the ambition motif which Mr. Wilson makes so much of in *What Happens in 'Hamlet'*[69]—though the lines are wholly wanting in his favorite Q2. This omission is generally explained by reference to James I's Danish Queen. The second involves lines 352-80, on the children actors, omitted presumably because of the royal patronage of these children after 1603.[70] The third omission, and the most startling, appears in Act V, 2, 68-80. Here Q2's line 67 breaks off abruptly in mid air: "And with such cusnage, i'st not perfect conscience?' No more but so! It is a bad break, and Q2 does not get back on the right track till line 81—that is, by reference to the F1 text. What happened here in Q2? Mr. Wilson, it seems to us, rather weakly declares that the compositor completely missed it[71]—missed thirteen lines at one swoop! This seems to us almost incredible.[72] Our explanation of the break will appear below. Meanwhile this third large omission, at least, remains as a bad black mark against the Q2 text.

Mr. Wilson's compositor of Q2, incidentally, is a peculiar individual, introduced somewhat arbitrarily to account for the bad spellings, bad punctuation, bad omissions, bad misprints, and what not, of Q2. This poor man is being "hurried",[73] "Working against time",[74] under "undue pressure",[75] in "undue haste",[76] yet a few moments later he is "neither skilful nor swift",[77] but "slow-moving",[78] "a plodder",[79] As to "why he was compelled to force the pace beyond his capacity we do not know".[80] (Mr. Wilson imagines he may have been "on piece rate . . . or perhaps his

69 Pp. 30-38, 39, 115-25, 133-35, 168-69, 173, 175, 180-81, 192, 1936, 200, 242.

70 Both of these passages were, of course, in the original version of *Hamlet, i.e.,* the transcript behind Q2.

71 *The Manuscript,* I, 97-8. De Groot, *op. cit.,* p. 127, and Van Dam [*The Text of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (1924), p. 174] both anticipated him in this idea.

72 Other minor omissions in Q2 include I, iii, 18; II, ii, 496, 528; III, i, 83; IV, v, 96, 163; IV, vii, 36; V, i, 38, 114, 129; V, ii, 57. For a complete list see Wilson's *The Manuscript,* II, Chap. III, section xvi.

73 *The Manuscript,* I, 96.

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.,* 1, 98.

77 *Ibid.,* 1, 99.

78 *Ibid.*

79 *Ibid.,* I, 100.

80 *Ibid.*

boss, James Roberts, was overdriving him, in order to get on to the next book").[81] Later on, to account for the bad misspellings in Q2, this compositor becomes "conceibaly a Welshman",[82] and finally—a stroke of genius to account for the crude punctuation in Q2—this man is "an absolute beginner who was learning to punctuate on *Hamlet* as he went along!"[83] The exclamation point is Mr. Wilson's, but we should apply it to the whole fantastic picture of this compositor of Q2, created in his master's image, so as to save the face of Q2, or rather to enable Mr. Wilson to bolster up his belief in Shakspere's handwriting in *Sir Thomas More* and in Percy Simpson's theory of dramatic punctuation by deliberately editing *Hamlet* on the basis of both of these very debatable books: surely a curious way to edit a text of *Hamlet.*

Mr. Wilson, then, has admitted the presence of bad spellings, bad punctuation, bad omissions, bad misprints ("the quarto of 1605 . . . one of the worst printed of all the original Shakespearian texts"[84]) in Q2. He goes around Robinhood's barn in trying to account for them by conjuring up an imaginary compositor. We might ask, we think pertinently, why he wastes so much time and space in explaining the errors of Q2 so fancifully, seeing that he has before him all these errors *corrected* in the promptbook copy (*ie.,* the source of F1) *which Shakspere himself supervised,* as certain scholars have shown[85] and as Mr. Wilson himself admits.[86] After all, what is the difference in probability of error between Mr. Wilson's two stemmas for F1 and Q2 (given above) and the conclusion that Q2 should be favored at all? In both cases two hands intervene between Shakspere's MS. and the final printed text. Why, incidentally should Mr. Wilson drop his old friend Pollard's doctrine of economy of texts[87] in support of a Q2 text which he ad-

81 *Ibid*

82 *Ibid.,* 1, 113.

83 *Ibid.,* II, 205 Dr. Tannenbaum calls the dramatic-punctuation theory "preposterous", *Shakes. Assoc. Bulletin,* IX (1934), 58.

84 *Ibid.,* I, 93.

85 M. C. Bradbrook, *Elizabethan Stage Conditions* (1932), pp. 113, 120; and H. Spencer, "Seventeenth-Century Cuts in Hamlet's Soliloquies", *RES,* IX (July, 1933), 258, 264.

85 *Ibid.,* I, chap. IV, Sect. viii.

87 See *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (Camb. Univ., 1920), pp. 63 ff. (especially pp. 67-8). Miss Bradbrook supports Mr. Pollard in her *Elizabethan Stage Conventions* (1932), p. 134.

mits is bad? But we must return to point out other likely flaws in Q2.

On close comparison of Q2 with F1 in the Vietor parallel texts, we find some additional peculiarities in Q2 which seem to render it even more distinctly a dubious text. Mr. McKerrow not so long ago[88] defended the Elizabethan printer and then tried to save Q2 (for Mr. Wilson?) by noting the marks of bad printing in Elizabethan dramatic texts: ". . . the passages which make no intelligible sense, in which words evidently meant to rhyme do not rhyme, passages which should be verse are printed as prose or prose passages as verse, in which speeches are assigned to the wrong persons, or in which there are evident omissions or repetitions such as could hardly occur either in a reasonably good manuscript or in the play as actually staged. It is this sort of badness that we often find in dramatic texts."[89] Then he asks, very appropriately, "Why does the second quarto of *Hamlet,* printed according to the true and perfect Coppie', contain at least a dozen passages of similar incorrections?"[90] "A dozen" is putting it mildly; and time was when Pollard, Greg, and the "elder" Wilson thought that such mix-ups indicated something more perhaps than merely bad printing. Furthermore such things in *M N D* used to start Mr. Wilson looking around for revisions, but not so in his survey of Q2. Even today Dr. Tannenbaum applies these same *errata* to the somewhat dubious Q of *Troilus and Cressida.*[91] But let us examine Mr. McKerrow's points with reference to the *Hamlet* Q2.

We have already pointed out above several "passages which make no intelligible sense" in the seven or eight main excrescences in the Q2 text. These famous cruxes in *Hamlet,* we believe, may well be due to something more significant than a mere printer's confusions. Riming, Mr. McKerrow's second point, is perfectly correct in Q2, in the play scenes; we have no quarrel with anyone here. Prose as verse

88 *The Library,* Fourth Series, XII, no. 3 (Dec., 1931), 253-75.
89 *Ibid.,* p. 259.
90 *Ibid.*
91 *Shakespeare Assoc. Bulletin,* IX (April, 1934), 55-74. And his Part II in the July number, p. 140: "Q . . . represents an earlier version of the play . . . F . . . a later version . . . Evidently from two different manuscripts . . . neither authoritative."

appears more often in Q2 than in F1.[92] Speech headings are more often confused in Q2 than in F1.[93] Omissions and repetitions in Q2, discussed above, certainly strike us as too significant to be placed wholly on the shoulders of a printer. Obviously, of course, there is some palpably bad printing in Q2, notably, for example, in V, i, 38, and V, i, 114, where the printer got misled by two "armes" and two "recoveries" —a very obvious blunder. There are other such phenomena in Q2.[94] And the printing of Q2 and F1 is of course different in method at times: *i.e.,* there are more capitals in F1, and there are oath changes in F1. But we insist that there may be something more than merely bad printing involved in all these errors in Q2. Even speech prefixes could be confused by a memorizer, and Mr. McKerrow's first and last points provide extensive fields for other sources of error, perhaps even unscrupulous sources. But we are anticipating.

A very important aspect of Q2 is the fact that it is an *acting* text, as is F1. For a rapid application of Dr. Van Dam's types of actors' interpolations[95] (a point which Mr. Wilson has almost completely ignored[96]) will show that at least six times *both* texts agree in what Dr. Van Dam would emphatically denote an actor's interpolation.[97] In II, ii, 221, again, it is Q2 which gives Dr. Van Dam's actor-interpolation, "except my life" three times—not F1; and in at least two other instances Q2 gives distinctly apparent actor's interpolations[98] where F1 does not, although it is true that

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92 See, for example, Q2, I, 123; II, ii, 178-9, 187-8, 230ff., 242 ff.; III, i, 137; III, ii, 99-104; IV, v, 171-2; etc. Compare F1, II, ii, 210-20, 440. Both texts do it at I, v, 157-61. Mr. Wilson seems to neglect this—*The Manuscript,* II Chap. II, Sect. XIII, pp. 216-30.

93 Note especially Q2, III, ii, 404; III, iv, 52; and V, v, 288. At I, v, 80 the speech-heading is lost in both texts, and at I, v, 112 both texts have different speech headings. Compare Mr. Wilson's lists in App. D. of *The Manuscript.*

94 See, for example, III, ii, 190; III, iv, 59; the songs in VI v; IV, v, 38, 46, 90; IV, vi, 28; V, i, 12, 129. Compare Wilson, *The Manuscript,* I, 102-21.

95 B. A. P. Van Dam, *The Text of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (London, 1924), chap. II. Van Dam posits actors' changes to suit the acting (*i.e.* for exits), explanatory insertions (*e.g.* "O my prophetic soul, *Mine uncle*"), and smoothing insertions (*e.g.* "I saw him *once*").

96 Cmpare his casual references to Van Dam in *The Manuscript,* I, xvii, 12n, 19n, and 80n—always in footnotes. In III, 245 Wilson does concede, "It is of course possible that some of these are additions on the part of Burbadge". Compare his attack on the idea in I, 77-82, in defence of antiquated Bradley.

97 I, v, 41; I, ii, 186; I, v, 93, 191; III, i, 60; III, iv, 110.

98 III, ii, 341; IV, vii, 77.

F1 has eight such interpolations quite by itself.[99] In other words, F1 is perhaps more of an actor's text than Q2, but the amount is purely relative. *Both* texts, by virtue of this test, are *acting* versions. We shall use this point later in attempting to determine their sources.

As another indication that they are acting versions, the stage-directions of the two texts are different; but we think Mr. Wilson has probably overestimated the weakness of the Q2 text in this matter: ". . . our loss through omission in Q2 is probably considerable",[100] he says—a remark supposedly proved by eight missing stage-directions in V, ii, which, however, we insist, cannot "be taken as typical".[101] As a matter of fact, Q2 contains one stage-direction, in V, ii, which is not in F1 at all;[102] and several other such autonymous stage-directions occur in other parts of the play.[103] It is true that F1 contains more stage-directions peculiar to it than does Q2, but the main point is that the stage-directions appearing at corresponding spots in the two texts are often different, and here Q2 is generally bad. The worst mix-up occurs at the double entry of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in IV, i, 1[104] of Q2 (one should recall the bad double-ending of VI, ii, in Q2 and the double call to the duel in V, ii). But there are other spots where Q2 goes almost equally astray with poor stage-directions.[105] On Mr. Wilson's own admission, then, F1 is the better text in this matter, but the fact remains that Q2 is of value as an *acting* text in itself: its differences in stage-directions may be due to various elements in its exegesis. How did it happen to go so far astray from F1 here? Surely there was more than merely a printer involved.

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99 I, i, 43; I, v, 107; II, ii, 610; III, iv, 20; IV, ii ("Hide fox", etc.); V, i, 199; V, ii, 251, 369.

100 *The Manuscript,* II, 184-5.

101 *Ibid.,* II, 185. His tables in Appendix D certainly do not bear out this proportion.

102 V, ii, 290.

103 I, i, 128-9, and 139-40; I, iv, 67; IV, v, 46; etc.

104 The preliminary stage-direction to the scene reads: "Enter King, and Queene, with Rosencraus and Guyldensterne". At line 3 Gertrude has to put them out with "Bestowe this place on us a little while", and in line 31 they are ushered back again with "Enter Rosencraus and Guyldenstern" (in the margin). This bad double-entry business in Q2 seems to give Mr. Wilson his inspiration for his bad double-entry of Hamlet added to the text at II, ii, 168 (of his edition) to explain the nunnery scene (an idea which was anticipated by the actor Tree in the last centry).

105 II, ii, 222; III, ii, 56; II, iv, 6; IV, ii (at beginning); IV, v (at beginning).

That Q2 is a decidedly different text from F1 is, we believe, fully established by the fact that in a rapid survey we counted at least 54 distinctly different words employed at similar places in both[106]—there are probably a great many more, of course.[107] For instance, in I, iii, 26, Q2 has "as he in his particular act and place" and F1 has "as he in his peculiar sect and force"; and II, ii, 54, Q2 has "deere Gertrard" and F1 "sweet Queen"; in V, ii, 201, Q2 has "prophane and trennowed" and F1 "fond and winnowed". Some of Q2's readings can be referred to Q1 in the early acts,[108] but the two texts, Q2 and F1, obviously on the showing of this point, came from somewhat different sources or form different stages, perhaps, of the same source. As to how they came, that is another matter, to be discussed later. The value of the readings in each text will vary with the aesthetic perspicuity of an editor, but in many instances the Folio certainly presents the better reading (all dangerous reference to Shakspere's handwriting aside). We shall recur to this deviation of texts again below.

Q2 contains several dubious transpositions,[109] of which the worst probably appears at V, ii, 233: "since no man of ought he leaves, knows" for F1's "Since no man ha's ought of what he leaves". Mr. Wilson, however, has added a tentative fifth one, involving a whole block of lines in his explanation of the "mightiest Julius" mix-up in I, i;[110] and Mr. Van Dam finds a similar transposition in the double ending of Act III.[111] Such transpositions, we should repeat from above, on the authority of Mr. W. J. Lawrence and Mr. Leo Kirschbaum, are often evidence of a rather bad quarto, and they occur here often in the dangerous excrescenes in the Q2 text.

But the worst aspect of Q2 is the number of lines bad in meter (a good criterion for a bad text which Mr. J. M. Manly proposed long ago).[112] In a rapid collation of

106 I, i, 167; I, ii, 105; I ii, 9, 26; I, iv, 49; I, v, 91, 179; II, i, 38; etc. We shall not list all of them. See Mr. Wilson's Appendix E in *The Manuscript* for a more complete list of variations. Mr. Wilson is at his best in his statistical orgies.

107 In Mr. Wilson's App. E, for instance.

108 For example, I, ii, 105; I, iv, 49; I, v, 71; II, ii, 54; etc.

109 1, v, 160-1; III, ii (the Dumbshow reading); V, i, 285; V, ii, 233; etc.

110 *The Manuscript,* II, 223.

111 *Op. cit.,* p. 120.

112 *SP,* XIV (1917), 123-8.

Vietor we counted thirty-four bad instances,[113] the worst of which appeared at II, ii, 616-7:

> "And fall a cursing like a very drabbe; a stallyon, fie uppont, foh. About my braines; hum, I have heard."

In short, we have come now to the definite conclusion that F1 provides a better text of *Hamlet* than Q2, and we find ourselves supported by such excellent modern critics as Pollard,[114] Simpson,[115] Robertson,[116] Alexander,[117] and Willoughby,[118] among others. The recent correspondence in the *TLS* over "The Genuine Text"[119] throws much doubt on Mr. Wilson's new *Hamlet,* and Mr. Wilson himself repeatedly admits that time and again F1 provides a better reading than Q2;[120] even his minor collaborator, Mr. Harold Child, in the new *Hamlet* flies in the face of his master by preferring the Folio text.[121] Hence we arrive at two important ideas about Q2: (1) it is not by itself a wholly dependable text of *Hamlet,* and (2) it comes from a different source than F1, or a different stage of the same source. We shall now use Q2, the longer text, and so obviously nearer the original two-part play than F1 to provide the evidence for the existence of a two-part prototype of *Hamlet.*[122] *This is*

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113 As Mr Wilson avoids statistics of this phenomenon, we shall have to give them all:

Q2, I, i, 175; I, ii, 58-60, especially l, 58; Q2, I, ii, 149; I, iii, 120; Both texts—II, i, 41; Q2, II, i, 50; Both II, i, 51, 107; Q2 II, ii, 5, 57, 152, 162, 587, 616-7; Q2 III, i, 19, 24-7, 55, 83, 182, 184; Q2, III, iv, 20; Q2 IV, iii, 45; Q2, IV, v, (the songs), 76, 140; Q2, IV, vii, 84, 148, 172; Q2, V, i, 254; Q2, V, ii, 44.

In the course of this same rapid survey we found only three in F1.

114 *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates,* pp. XV, XX, XXII, 46, 94.

115 Simpson used F1 as the basis of his study of Shakspere's punctuation, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

116 *Hamlet Once More* (1923), p. 132.

117 P. Alexander, *Shakespeare's 'Henry VI' and Richard III'* (1929), pp. 144, 165-75.

118 E. E. Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare* (1934), pp. 25, 164. Compare the review of Willoughby's *The Printing of the First Folio* (Bibliographical Soc. Transactions, No 8, 1933) in *TLS* July 13, 1933, which quoted Willoughby: ". . . there is no reason . . . to believe that the compositors and proof-readers introduced any great corruption into the text."

119 May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 and June 6, 1935.

120 *The Manuscript,* I, 107, 131, 139-40, 140-3, 147, 164 171; II, 177, 283, 302.

121 This amusing slip on Mr. Child's part appears in the galley proof (p 12), now in our possession, where Mr. Child writes, "Nevertheless the many cuts demanded by time and determined, in some cases, by taste, have roused in recent years the desire to see the play 'whole'—that is to say, as it appeared in the Folio." This passage appears in the Edition as finally published on p. xcvi *without the last ten words.*

122 This will, of course, not preclude the use of F1 in spots, especially in the case of omissions in Q2.

the main contention of this paper. We shall then try, by way of after-study, to suggest what the differences between Q2 and F1 mean with relation to their textual background: in other words, we shall attempt to explain, by reference to F1 as the better text, how Q2 may have come into existence through the manipulations of the keeper of the promptbook of the two-part play, who, eager to provide fuller "Coppie", turned over all of the text he could to Nicholas Ling, even as previously he had turned over the touring-company version of Q1 to the same unscrupulous printer.

V.

If Q2 is an unacceptable version of *Hamlet* and yet is the longest version of a play unactable in two hours on the Elizabethan stage, it probably represents the nearest version to the original, intermediate two-part play. In the course of our argument we shall, of course, have to refer to certain features of F1, the better text, especially to supply missing passages. Our first step now, then, is to discuss the prevalence of two-part plays in general on the Elizabethan stage and Shakspere's interest in this type of play; then we shall present evidence that *Hamlet,* based on a probable two-part play, was itself probably a two-part play originally.

A survey of Elizabethan drama shows a goodly number of two-part plays, and Shakspere, no less than his ranking compeers, had much traffic with this type of drama. These plays were of divers kinds: sometimes the makeshift of enterprising authors who deliberately traded upon the full-blown acclaim of a play by tagging on a second part; sometimes a sop thrown out, as it were, to the audience by way of a sequel to a play which had been given more than tolerable approval; primarily, however, the chronicle history plays, several of which had of necessity to be divided into two parts to permit of stage representation within the restricted two-hour limit.[123]

Closest to the facts is Henslowe's *Diary,*[124] from the entries of which (intermittently recorded over a period of

[123] See Lawrence, *op. cit.,* p. 350-51; and Creizenach, *op. cit.,* p. 249.

[124] Ed. by W. W. Greg, London, 1904.

years ranging from 1591-1597) the following conclusions are easily drawn:

(1) Two-part plays are not always distinguishable as such, because they are not always indicated.[125]

(2) Apart from the sustained popularity of *III Henry VI* and *Jeronymo* (*i.e., The Spanish Tragedy*), several other two-part plays enjoyed many productions: *e.g., Tamburlaine, Godfrey of Bullen, Hercules, The Knack to Know a Knave,* and its counterpart, *The Knack to Know an Honest Man, Caesar and Pompey,* and *Fortunatus.*[126]

(3) There was no fixed rule as to the manner of presentation of two-part plays: (a) either part of a play was presented separately, as an entity in and by itself, without reference to its other half;[127] (b) the two parts of a play were presented with intervening days, sometimes even in inverse order;[128] (c) two-part plays were often presented on successive days.[192]

(4) Henslowe could not possibly have entered *Hamlet,*

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125 *Cf. Tamburlen,* Aug. 28, Sept. 12 and 28, 1594. Neither *Henry VI* nor *Jeronymo,* both very popular plays in 1591-2, is indicated as a two-part play. *Godfrey* is noted for Sept. 20, 1594, but only as *Godfrey of Bullen* is it denoted a two-part play on July 19, Aug. 6, 13, 26, Sept. 8, and Oct. 6. Compare also *seser and pompey,* not distinctly indicated till June 18, 1595.

126 *Tamburlaine*—April 28, May 10, 1592; Aug. 28, Sept. 12 and 28, 1594; Nov. 4, 27 and Oct. 17, 1594; etc.
Godfrey of Bullen—see note 125.
Hercules—May 5, 1595; May 20 and 23, 1595; Sept. 22-3 and Oct. 12-13, 1595; etc.
The Knack to Know—Dec. 31, 1592; Jan. 3, 1593; etc.
Caesar and Pompey—June 18 and 25, 1595; etc.
Fortunatus—Feb. 3, 10 and 20, 1596, etc.
See notes 127, 128, 129, below.

127 Godfrey of "bullen", Pt. 2 on July 19 and Aug. 6, 1594; Pt. 1 on Aug. 13, August 26, Sept. 8 and Oct. 6 of 1594.
"Tamburlen" (no part indicated) on Aug. 28 and Sept. 12, 1594; and Oct. 15 and 17, 1594.
Fortunatus, Pt. 1 on Feb. 3, 10 and 20, 1596.

128 *"Tamburlen"* on Dec. 17 and 19, 1594; Dec. 30 and Jan. 1, 1594-5; Jan. 27 and 29, 1595 (with a different play on Jan. 28).
"hercolas" on May 20 and 23, 1595 (with two parts of *Tamburlen* intervening); part 1 on Oct. 25, 1595, and part 2 on Nov. 2, 1595.
"Sesore and Pompey"—part 2 on June 18, 1595, and part 1 on June 25.

129 *"Tamburlen"* on Feb. 17 and 18, 1595; March 11 and 12, 1595; May 21 and 22, 1595; Nov. 12 and 13, 1595.
"hercolas" on May 27 and 28, 1595; June 12 and 13, 1595; Sept. 1 and 2, 1595; Sept. 22 and 23, 1595; Oct. 12 and 13, 1595; Nov. 24 and 25, 1595.

inasmuch as the play was in the possession of the Lord Chamberlain's company.[130]

(5) An entry for a play named *Oserycke* (compare "Osric") appears on February 3 and 7, 1597. It may be a fantastic conjecture on our part that this may have been a piece of *Hamlet's* original two-part version.

(6) There was an overwhelming preponderance of two-part plays during the period extending from May, 1595, to February, 1596,[131] that is, approximately the time when Shakspere was engrossed in reworking the *Ur-Hamlet.*[132] This is a most important phenomenon with reference to our view of the two-part construction of *Hamlet.*

Distinguishable from all other Elizabethan plays by its prolonged and phenomenal success is Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy,* a play which is considered to have been a two-part play because very nearly always a fore-piece, called either " 'the comodye of don oracio' " or " 'the comodye of Jeronimo'," was performed along with it.[133] Making its début sometime before 1588, the *Spanish Tragedy* held Elizabethan audiences enthralled even after the turn of the century. Hard upon the heels of its revival in 1597 by the Admiral's men, a flurry of revenge tragedies in two parts appeared, beginning with Marston's *Antonio and Mellida,* Part I, and *Antonio's Revenge,* Part II, and culminating in Shakspere's final revision of the *Ur-Hamlet,*[134] the pre-Shaksperian drama generally conceded to be another of

130 But Henslowe did not enter an old *Hamlet* on June 9, 1594. Another one of our intermediate versions?

131 See for example notes 127, 128, and 129. To these should be added other entries for *Caesar and Pompey, Godfrey of Bullen, Fortunatus, Siege of London, The Knack to Know,* etc.

132 See our Section II above. But Henslowe's *Diary* does not give a complete picture of the popularity of the type. At the point at which it left off, a list of plays belonging to the Admiral's Men appears to offer just as incontestable evidence to the popularity of two-part plays acted between 1597-1600; during which period, of course, there may have been further revision of *Hamlet.*

Unfortunately, the *Stationers Register* (ed. E. Arber, 1875) will not help much in identifying two-part plays because practically no plays were being entered up to 1600, and of those that were, as many are two-part as one-part. The *Register* merely proves, apparently, that plays were not being duly registered (compare the posterity idea in our Section III above). In other words, a two-part *Hamlet* might have been pirated without registration. On Aug. 13 and 28 there seems to be a veritable uprising of two-part plays in the *Register,* and it is at this time, probably, that *Hamlet* was being revised.

133 Boas, *op. cit.,* Introduction, p. xxx. See Henslowe's entries for *Jeronymo* above.

134 A. H. Thorndike, "The Relations of *Hamlet* to Contemporray Revenge Plays", *PMLA,* XVII (1902), 128-133.

Kyd's plays and frequently alluded to (because of similar parallels in plot and construction), as a "companion-piece[135] to *The Spanish Tragedy*.

Several years ago Mr. J. M. Robertson advanced the view that the *Ur-Hamlet* (*i.e.,* Kyd's *Hamlet*) was a two-part play; in no other way could he account for the three superfluous episodes present in Shakspere's *Hamlet:* that is, the embassy to Norway, the mission of Reynaldo, and the expedition of Fortinbras. Survivals from the source of an original larger action, wherein they were made not to figure but to function as an integral part of the play, they serve here, says Robertson, only to retard the action of the play, being in no way allied to it.[136] He repeated Fleay's argument[317] that *Julius Caesar,* part and parcel of the revenge-tragedy tradition and presenting both "Caesar's Tragedy' " and " 'Caesar's Revenge' ", may possibly have been derived from an original two-part play;[138] he also pointed out a congeries of circumstances[139] which saw (1) Shakspere at the time of the publication of *Hamlet* hard at work on *Measure for Measure,* a single play contrived from George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (a two-part play "divided into two comical discourses");[140] (2) the sequel-play contemporaneously flourishing on both the French and the English stage;[141] (3) The *Spanish Tragedy,* "a member of a double play",[142] *Hamlet's* immediate predecessor. Finally, he was of the opinion that the first part of *Hamlet* ended with Hamlet's going off to England and that the second part began with Laertes' return to Denmark.[143] This hy-

135 *Ibid.* And see the Arden Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet,* ed. by Edward Dowden (6th ed., 1928), Introduction p. xiv.

136 *Op. cit.* (1919), chap. III, and in *"Hamlet" Once More* (1923), pp. 129-31.

137 See F. G. Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of Wm. Shakespeare* (1886), p. 215.

138 *Op. cit.* (1919), p. 52.

139 *Ibid.,* pp. 52-3.

140 *Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library,* Part II, ii, 203, quoted in F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (1908), I, 209.

141 The mystery-drama which occupied several days in the representation, greatly in vogue during the 15th century and lingering on into the 16th century, established precedent for the sequel-play.

142 *Op. cit.* (1919), p. 53.

142 *Op. cit.* (1919), p. 53.

143 *Ibid.,* pp. 567. Compare G. L. Kittredge's interesting observation (in class study) that Hamlet's willingness to go to England (Act III, Sc. iv, 171) brought the last of the play into conformity with the first—which amounts to an admission of a break in the play! *i.e. Hamlet* is a play of two parts.

pothesis of Robertson's Mr. De Groot found admissible to the extent that it would take excellent care of Hamlet's inactivity during the fourth act: "In the 'Second Part', Laertes would take the lead, assisted by the King, leaving to Hamlet the defense."[144] He added, however, that the hypothesis fails to take into consideration the irrelevant Reynaldo (Montano) scene, which, he suggests, may have been written by Chapman.[145]

We shall now carry Mr. Robertson's hypothesis one step further by boldly suggesting that Shakspere himself wrote our modern long *Hamlet* originally as a two-part play sometime after Mr. Wilson's conjectural years 1591-3.[146] For, apart from the circumstances cited by Mr. Robertson, to do so was a procedure not at all unlikely for a dramatist who was no new hand at the game of writing sequence plays, having already scored triumphs with *III Henry VI*[147] and *II Henry IV*;[148] moreover, he had proved himself adept at condensing two-part plays, having long since converted *The Troublesome Reign of King John,* a play in two parts, into his single play, *The Life and Death of King John,*[149] a process he saw fit to repeat years later with George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra.*[150]

VI.

If, then, two-part plays were so popular in the period from 1595-1603, and if Shakspere was considerably interested in them, there is definite possibility that *Hamlet,* whose intermediate version falls into this period, was also a play of this type. In attempting to prove this we shall first point out discrepancies in the text which a two-part version will dispose of, and, second, adduce further general evidence to support our contention of an original two-part *Hamlet.*

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144 In *Hamlet: its Textual History* (1923), p. 15n.

145 *Ibid.,* p. 15. He also assigns the Pyrrhus speech in the Gonzago play to Chapman.

146 See section III above.

147 Compare the *Henry VI* entries, in Henslowe's *Diary* for 1591-2. This, of course, is not necessarily Shakspere's play.

148 See F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (1908), I, 278.

149 *Ibid.,* I, 257.

150 See notes 139 and 140, above.

It is a commonplace of criticism that Shakspere's masterpiece, unmanageable in length, is replete with extraneous material from beginning to end. This has generally been attributed to the fact that in the process of rewriting Kyd's tragedy Shakspere undiscriminatingly retained in full all the bungling inventions, irrelevances, and inconsistencies inherent in Kyd's *Hamlet*.[151] Within the barbaric frame he had borrowed, he hung his own delicately drawn portrait, and, to all appearances, remained obtusely ignorant of the violent incompatibilities he had achieved. Now, unless Shakspere is to stand accused of this charge of rank carelessness, he must have known to what purpose he wrought. The two-part play theory will adequately reveal that purpose. It will exonerate him from the charge of negligence he was not guilty of and will eliminate the slur cast upon Thomas Kyd, who was no amateur playwright trundling his wares like a novice in the *Ur-Hamlet* but an accomplished playwright, esteemed by his contemporaries, and even to this day acknowledged one of the most formative influences in Elizabethan drama.[152]

But let us proceed to the enumeration of the discrepancies in the text. In doing so we shall emphasize particularly the fourth and fifth acts, with which we are chiefly concerned and which in the inconsistency of their construction are singularly vulnerable to attack. Let us consider the following points:

(1) Two major excrescences appear in the embassy to Norway and the Fortinbras expedition to Poland.[153] Deterrent to the action of the play, and being in no demonstrable measure essential to the theme, they are generally held to be mere relics of Kyd's handiwork.[154]

(2) Superfluous sententious remarks arrest the action of the play. These are, in the order of their appearance: (a) Laertes' advice to Ophelia, (b) Polonius's counsel to

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151 De Groot (*op. cit.*, p. 161), like Robertson (see note 136 above), believes that the irrelevant scenes Kyd had "may not have been so irrelevant in the old play."

152 *Cf.* Robertson, *op. cit.* (1923), p. 129: "In a strict sense of the term, Kyd may be called the formative force of the Elizabethan drama, . ." And see Boas, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi.

153 See note 136, above.

154 *Cf.* Robertson, *'The Upshot of 'Hamlet'* (London, 1885), p. 19; H. D. Gray, "Reconstruction of a Lost Play," *PQ*, VII (July, 1928), 262.

Laertes, (c) Polonius's words to Ophelia, (d) Polonius's instructions to Reynaldo,[155] (e) Hamlet's discourse with the Players, (f) the disquisition on Yorick, and (g) Osric's affected badinage.[156]

(3) The fourth Act of *Hamlet* is very much longer than other fourth acts of Shakspere, and Hamlet himself is allotted more speeches than any other Shaksperian character.[157]

(4) Mr. Dover Wilson conjectures the possible omission of a scene to account for the peculiar stage-direction at Act IV, sc. i, of Q2: " 'Eenter [*sic*] *King, and Queene, with Rosencraus and Guyldenstern*' "; yet the Queen did not leave the stage after Act III, sc. iv, and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are sent off the stage immediately after they are brought on. "Perhaps," guesses Mr. Wilson, "some intervening scene or episode has been omitted."[158]

(5) Mr. Wilson also directs attention to an unfortunate instance of doubling in F1. The stage-direction at Act IV, sc. v of Q2 reads: " *Enter Horatio, Gertrard, and a Gentleman*' "; F1 drops the Gentleman, leaving to Horatio, Hamlet's trustworthy friend, the embarrassing duty of informing the Queen of Ophelia's mad rantings which inadvertently traduce Hamlet's name.[159]

(6) After Hamlet's departure to England (Act IV, sc. iv), no sufficient interval of time is indicated to account

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155 See Robertson, *"Hamlet" Once More,* pp. 13134.

156 *Cf.* J. A. Chapman, *Papers on Shakespeare,* I. *Hamlet* (Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 23-4.

157 In the *Manuscript,* I, 23-4 Wilson takes note of ". . . the exceedingly heavy part of Hamlet, . . ." and Robertson observes, *op. cit.* (1923), p. 114: "All the figures talk in excess of dramatic requirement: . . .".

158 *Hamlet,* edited by J. D. Wilson (1934), p. 217; also, in *The Manuscript,* I, 92. (Throughout this entire section of our paper this New Cambridge Edition will be used for reference to Acts, Scenes, and lines.) Compare note 104 above.

It is pertinent in this connection to note that whereas in the Q2 and F1 the Queen's innocence appears somewhat dubious, Q1 has a line in Act III, Sc. iv (Vietor text, p. 202), which directly absolves the Queen of any complicity in her husband's crime. This situation might suggest missing lines in Q2. Similarly Bradby accounts for the double ending in Act III of Q2 by conjecturing missing lines in Q2. (*op. cit.,* chap. IV).

159 In *The Manuscript,* I, 37-8, a parallel instance of doubling probably accounts for the Queen's speech on Ophelia's death (IV, 7, 162-63, 165-81), which is definitely undramatic and out of character inasmuch as the role of messenger hardly belongs to one of royal rank. Mr. Kittredge, in English 2 at Harvard, also remarked on the undramatic nature of the Queen's speech.

for the startling rapidity with which events occur. Laertes has had time to learn of his father's death and to return from Paris to Denmark for vengeance; Hamlet's letters, written after his arrival in Denmark, which must have followed almost immediately upon his escape from the pirates, inform us he has been at sea but two days; yet the English ambassadors are on hand only a day after his return to announce the execution of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; and on that same day Fortinbras, who at the start of Act IV, sc. iv, had just obtained permission to march against the Poles, has returned in the full triumph of his victory.[160]

(7) Mention is made of a letter to be delivered to the Queen, about whose contents or eventual destination no disclosure is made.[161]

(8) Mention is also made of an unidentifiable character, Claudio, who is left completely unexplained.[162]

A reasonable basis for and explanation of these excrescences, superfluities, inconsistencies, and confusions will be established if we may apply to them the theory of the two-part play. Thus, given the enlarged sphere of a two-part play, the embassy to Norway and the Fortinbras expedition loom as significant facets upon which the original action may have turned; ample scope is forthwith provided for the so-called superfluous moralizing discourses, which now no longer tend to crowd the action of the play but rather to amplify it. Furthermore, if we assume that in the process of condensation the original two-part draft was in all probability not always pared to precision,[163] the con-

160 C. Clark, *op. cit,* pp. 134-6, and Dowden, *op. cit.,* Introduction, pp. 21-22, both treat at length this extraordinary lapse in time.

161 IV, 7, 37.

162 IV, 7, 41.

163 Take, for illustration, the confusion in Q 1676 resulting from the abandonment of the whole of Act IV, sc. iv. The transition occurring there within one telescoped scene from the King's speech:

> Away for everything is seal'd and done
> That else leans on the affair,

to the Queen's speech:

> I will not speak with her

is meaningless and abrupt. If sheer economy prompted the excision, it was a poor choice for the remaining scenes in Act IV and Act V of this text (containing as they do much removable matter) are kept practically intact, even to the Osric scene and Fortinbras's closing speeches. See the 1676 Q of *Hamlet* in the Rare Book Room in the University of Michigan.

fusion arising from the mangled stage-direction, Horatio's lines, and the duration of the action becomes explicable; and the undue length of the fourth act may be attributed to the inevitable crowding attendant upon incorporating two or more acts of the original version into one;[164] and, finally, the mystery surrounding the disappearance of the letter to the Queen and the unidentifiable Claudio is thus completely dissolved.

Thus this two-part play theory, applied like a magnifying lens to the confused text of Q2 (and F1), sees Shakspere's sense of dramatic fitness rise to full stature where before it would seem to have been overcome and almost extinguished.[164a]

We now turn to certain external arguments which tend to support the theory of a two-part play with relation to the dramatic development of *Hamlet.* Most of these ideas have already been suggested by other scholars without reference to a two-part theory, but it is to this that we shall deliberately apply them.

The first of these is that critics demur to the received division between Acts III and IV.[165] An arbitrary and awkward arrangement at best, it was given countenance for the first time in the Q of 1676. In 1879[166] Mr. E. Rose suggested transfering the first three scenes of the fourth act to scenes v, vi, and vii of the third act; consequently scene iv of the fourth act, opening with the march of Fortinbras, automatically became sc. i of the fourth act and thereby provided the necessary break in the action of the play to render logical the beginning of a new act. The critical approbation which this arrangement has received[167] corroborates our proposal that the march of Fortinbras ushers

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164 One should recall the resulting problem of the first scene of *Lear* when Shakspere cut two and one-half acts of the original play to precisely one scene. See A. Nicoll, *Studies in Shakespeare* (1927), chap. VI.

164a Dr. Tannenbaum suggests, privately, that any apparent shortness of *Part 2* could be compensated by the use of a jig.

165 Johnson said it was "not very happy, for the pause is made at a time when there is more continuity of action than in almost any other of the Scenes'." Quoted from Wilson's ed. of *Hamlet,* p. 217.

166 "The Division into Acts of *Hamlet*", *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Soc.* (1877-9), pp. 1-10.

167 See Robertson's remark, *op. cit.* (1919),. p. 51n: "It is generally agreed that Act IV has been wrongly divided, its earlier scenes belonging to Act. III."

in the beginning of the second part of our two-part play. But this is somewhat anticipatory.

The division of acts and scenes being completely neglected in the original printing of Shakspere's quartos,[168] the split (that is, at sc. iv of Act IV) which we think divides the first part from the second would naturally remain unindicated in the text. It is therefore our contention that the soliloquy, "How all occasions do inform against me,"[169] is recapitulative of what has been acted previously and portentous of what is to be acted presently, thus serving as a sort of prologue to the second part.[170] Only recently Mr. Wilson remarked: "Taken as a whole, the soliloquy is indeed a kind of backcloth which gives significance to all that happens in the next three scenes."[171] If one keeps in mind the fact that in the Elizabethan theatre the soliloquy was used mainly in an expository capacity,[172] it will not be difficult to concede the validity of our contention about the division of the two-part play.

A glance at the soliloquy itself will discover confirmation of this. Hamlet, lashing out at his own indolence, beholds Fortinbras's soldiers going off to war, perhaps to lose their all for "a little patch of ground" that will enrich not one of them.

> How stand I, then, [he asks]
> That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd,
> Excitements of my reason and my blood,
> And let all sleep?[173]

In this rhetorical question, then, the audience on the second day sees the past conjured up and is reminded of Hamlet's delay. Stricken with shame, he finally breathes revenge:

> O, from this time forth,
> My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth![174]

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168 There is no act or scene division anywhere in Q2.

169 IV, 4, 32-66.

170 In a classroom we should say that this procedure is not unlike the cartoonists' preface often prefixed to the comic strips in America today.

171 Wilson, *What Happens in 'Hamlet'* (1935), p. 263.

172 See L. L. Schücking, *Die Charakter-Probleme bei Shakespeare* (1919); *cf.* Sprague, *op. cit.*, Chap. III.

173 IV, iv, 56-9.

174 IV, iv, 65-9.

This resolve provides a fitting preamble to the oncoming give-and-take of death-blows, soon to crush both him and his adversaries, and whets anew the Elizabethan appetite for action.[175]

Immediately succeeding the soliloquy occur speeches which are, in the main, recitals of events that have already transpired; ostensibly enough they are intended to refresh the audience's memory; thus they may be said to establish closely connecting links between the first part and the second part of the play.[176] Among others, we cite the following excerpt from the King's speech at Act IV, Scene v, lines 78-84:

> . . . First, her father slain;
> Next, your son gone, and he most violent author
> Of his own just remove; the people muddied,
> Thick and unwholesome in their thoughts and whispers
> For good Polonius' death; and we have done but greenly
> In hugger-mugger to inter him; poor Ophelia
> Divided from herself and her fair judgment . . .[177]

These recapitulating speeches, then, plus the prologue aspect of the soliloquy, serve to strength our contention that the second part of *Hamlet* originally began at this point.

Part of the fanfare incident to the opening of an Elizabethan play was the blowing of trumpet blasts and the beating of drums.[178] There is a strong likelihood that drums and trumpets were used for this very purpose in Act IV, sc. iv, for, notwithstanding the fact that the stage-directions in

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175 Stoll, *op. cit.,* (1919) p. 17,recognizes the exhortative value of this soliloquy: ". . . reminding the audience that the main business . . . is not lost to view." *Cf.* Robertson, *The Criterion,* (Jan., 1925), p. 182: The manner in which other critics manhandle this soliloquy is rather amusing. Ingenious, to say the least, is Spencer's argument, *op. cit* (1933), p. 264, that this soliloquy "was probably not spoken even when Shakespeare produced the play." Why, then, did Shakespeare write it? De Groot, *op. cit.,* Chap. IV maintains that the passage was added sometime after the Q2 saw the light of print (but for what reason he does not seem to know), ". . . which addition it was afterwards thought advisable to suppress again, in order to shorten the piece"! A rather dubiously circuitous process, we think.

176 IV, 5, 17-20, IV, 5, 213-217; IV, 7, 11-24; IV, 7, 25-29.

177 In direct contrast to the recapitulative nature of these lines are the closing lines of this speech (86-93), which are definitely anticipatory. Laertes, burning for revenge, has returned to court, the King informs us, thereby giving the cue to the action upon which the second part of the play will revolve.

178 See G. F. Bradby, *About Shakespeare and His Plays* (1926), p. 20; also, E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), IV, 316. (Mr. Chambers is referring to an official letter, Oct. 8, 1594, written by Henry Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, to the Lord Mayor, which reads in part: ". . . and will not use anie *Drumes* or *trumpettes* att all for the callinge of peopell together").

Q2 and F1 do not expressly mention trumpets here, drums are indicated in the Q1 stage-direction at Act IV, sc. iv: "*'Enter Fortenbrasse, Drumme and Souldiers'*".[179] They may well have been used therefore at this point to mark the beginning of Part II of the play.

The soldiers present at the beginning of Act IV, sc. ii may have been intended to attract the attention of the nut-cracking audience making itself hilariously heard before the opening of the second part of the play. Apparently soldiers had already been put to the same use at the beginning of *3 Henry VI*.[180]

The practice of doubling minor rôles was an expediency of the theatre to which the stage-manager had recourse whenever he found it necessary to reduce the number of actors.[181] Because of the large number of characters (twenty-nine, to be exact),[182] doubling was resorted to on a large scale, not always effectively, however, as our discussion above concerning the anomaly implicit in Horatio's rôle as inadvertent traducer of Hamlet's character fully demonstrated.[183] The two-part play theory precludes doubling to a great extent inasmuch as the players are given two separate days to enact their rôles; hence, Part II would contain different minor characters from those in Part I. Therefore the first day's minor characters could be relieved for the second day's minor parts.

We have now proved, we think, that our modern text of *Hamlet,* so long that it is unactable in two hours, is the product of an intermediate two-part version written to meet the public demand for such plays during the late 1590's and containing in its printed form so many discrepancies that it cannot be defended otherwise than by a two-part theory. We shall now suggest how our printed text of this old two-part play *may* have come into existence. In making this extraneous move—for our main contention is presumably proved—we realize that we are launching on a purely

179 *The Manuscript,* II, Appendix D, p. 364. Vietor text of Q1, p. 220.

180 The stage-direction at I, 1, reads: "Enter the Duke of York, Edward, Richard, Norfolk, Montague, Warwick, *and Soldiers.*"

181 Lawrence, *op. cit.,* chap. III.

182 *Ibid.,* p. 70.

183 See note 159, above.

conjectural and possibly even fantastic speculation, and we do it simply as a casual afterpiece to an article which set out to prove, first and foremost, that the *Hamlet* we have today shows two-part characteristics which definitely indicate a two-part prototype—quite irrespective of precisely how the modern text ever came into existence. As regards the method we are employing, we shall say only that we are following the example of Professor Wilson, who never tires of "guessing," "fancying," and "imagining", although he sometimes only "suspects" or "strongly suspects".

VII.

If the original *Hamlet* was a two-part play, what was the presumable textual history of Q2 and F1? In view of the weakness of Q2, as indicated above, we were at first inclined to posit a direct piracy of Q2 from F1 by the reprehensible Ling. But the great number of quite different words in corresponding lines in these two texts[184] rather put us off this track, unless, of course, F1 was revised verbally after the publication of Q2. This, however, did not strike us as very probable. We were therefore thrown back on the greater probability of different transcripts behind Q2 and F1, a conjecture so far not wholly unlike Mr. Wilson's. Nevertheless, these two transcripts, generally alike (except for the excrescences and omissions in Q2 indicated above, and for the verbal differences, etc.), were in different stages of development from the two-part play behind them, and though the maker of Q2 had a slightly different transcript to work from, he probably also had the transcript behind F1 to check by. Where he went astray was in his attempts to *remember* passages from the original two-part play; and the fact remains that he may even have been actually pirating Q2 from the earlier transcript, although in the light of Roberts's apparent reliability, it is not necessary to assume that Ling's agent was repeating his process with Q1. It is merely something of a possibility. The problem now is to put one's finger on the man who was probably Ling's agent, presumably in both Q1 and Q2.[185]

184 See note 106, above.

185 We should refer to note 41 again: that Q2 is *not* a revision of Q1, although Q2 is probably the final revision of a manuscript which had gone through several previous revisions in the 1590's—see our Section III, above.

First, let us say unequivocally that in our opinion Mr. Matthews and Miss Doran[186] have disposed of, once and for all, of short-hand versions of the bad quartos. Second, an actor piracy will not account for all the peculiarities of the bad quartos, listed at the beginning of Section III above[187] We fall back, then, on the conjectures of Mr. W. J. Lawrence and Mr. Leo Kirschbaum that the guilty party in the matter of bad-quarto piracy was either an adapter or a promptbook keeper doing what in criminal circles is known as an "inside job".[188] This man will do for us also in the matter of *Hamlet* Q2, although there is no reason here to suppose that he was deliberately pirating Q2 for Ling as he did Q1. Q2 is a much better text than Q1; in fact, it is much better, in general, than any pirated text. The promptbook keeper had apparently no need for hurry in memorizing or in compressing an adaptation for a touring company. He had before him a good transcript of a play in the process of being cut down from two parts to one. His job was to prepare, as the title-page of Q2 indicates, an "enlarged" and "true and perfect Coppie". Q1 had been a success. Now Roberts and Ling got together to make another hit with Q2 as a "bigger and better" text. So the promptbook keeper chose the longer transcript in preference to the one behind F1, and he also tried to remember what he could of the two-part version, having seen it probably in the course of his sojourn with the company. Here, having nothing to check by, he went astray, and Ling and Roberts got some sections of Q2 which were the product of the promptbook keeper's memory rather than of the transcript behind Q2 (or F1, for that matter). This procedure of the promptbook keeper, working at the behest of Ling and Roberts, may or may not indicate a certain degree of piracy—but, surely, not the rapid and compressed piracies of the "regular" bad quartos. The only possible proof of piracy—and this is purely guesswork—lies in the peculiar method seemingly employed by the prompt-

186 W. Matthews, "Shakespeare and the Reporters", *The Library,* New Series, XV. No. 4 (March, 1935), 481-98. Madeleine Doran, "The Quarto of *King Lear* and Bright's Shorthand", *MP,* XXXIII (Nov., 1935), 139-157.

187 And Q2 is too good for an actor's or short-hand piracy, anyway.

188 See Notes 61 and 62. Compare also Miss Gerda Okerlund's use of Mr. Lawrence's idea in "The Quarto version of *Henry* V as a Stage Adaptation", *PMLA,* XLIX (Sept., 1934), 810-34.

book keeper in getting the text into the hands of the printer. Here a brief analysis of the two texts seems to be in order.

The most significant aspect of Q2 is the magnitude of what may be termed, by reference to F1, *auditory* illusions in words. Time and again somebody got mixed up in the sound of words he read and "misheard," and so these words were set in type wrongly.* The process is similar to that of a stenographer mishearing words. There is indication of the misreading of shorthand symbols in Q2: the words "misheard" are too few in number, the proper names are generally correct, and, above all, the verse-lining is too good. But one thing is peculiar with regard to many words in Q2 which were obviously "misheard". Consider the following (a mere *selection* of examples):[189]

	Q2	*F1*
1. I, 3, 74	" - or of - " . . .	"are of"
2. I, 3, 77	"dulleth edge" . .	"dulls the edge"
3. I, 3, 128	"Not of that die"	"Not of the eye"
4. I, 5, 68	"it doth possesse" .	"it doth posset"
5. II, 2, 142	"prescripts" . . .	"Precepts"
6. II, 2, 340	"black verse" . .	"blanke verse"
7. III, 1, 46	"lowliness" . . .	"loneliness"
8. III, 1, 72	"despiz'd" . . .	"dispriz'd"
9. III, 1, 151	"you list"	"you lispe"
10. III, 2, 207	"ennatures" . . .	"ennactors"
11. IV, 3, 66	"congruing . . .	"conjuring"
12. IV, 7, 63	"*as the king* at his voyage"	"*as checking* at his Voyage"
13. V, 1, 321	"quiet thirtie" . .	"quiet shortly"
14. V. 2, 43	"as sir"	"assis"
15. V, 2, 101	"very sully and hot"	"very soultry and hot"

This scribe of Q2, like Mr. Wilson's Scribe C of F1 (described above), is a peculiar individual. He persists in

* Of course, our readers know that "auditory errors" do not necessarily imply dictation; they may arise within the mind of the compositor and even of a transcriber.

189 Many others could probably be cited, for instance: I, ii, 137; II, ii, 78; iv, 7, 160; V, i, 62; V, ii, 410; etc. The most obvious and most conclusive illustration in our list of 15 seems to us to be No. 12, which we have taken the liberty to italicize. The lining, as always, refers to the W. Vietor *Parallel Texts* edition of *Hamlet*.

190 *Neophilologus*, XVIII (1933), 254.

writing "a" for "he": "a sayd", "a doe blench", "a is a praying".[191] and 'Ostricke" for "Osric,"[193] and "Lamord" for "Lamound".[194] He is perfectly dumb on Latin: "Exeunt they two",[195] and "se offended"[196] (here he comes perilously close to a compositor, a tribe generally weak in Latin), and he makes some surprisingly silly substitutions when his dictator read too fast for him or when he failed to understand the words heard, *e.g.*, "this is base and silly" for F1's "this is hyre and Sallary";[197] "folly drownes it" for F1's "folly doubts it";[198] "why is this all you call it" for F1's "why is this impon'd as you call it"[199] (he had apparently never heard of "impon'd"); "a did Sir with his dugge" for F1's "He did Complie with".[200] In fact, there are some words that this scribe had presumably never heard of at all: "dout" is one (see his substitution of "drownes" above), for he is the villain who caused the "dram of eale" mix-up by his "of a doubt" version.[201] The word "union" (as a pearl) is also a puzzle to him, for he calls it "unice"[202] first and "onixe"[203] later. Like Mr. Wilsons fanciful Scribe C, he is also probably a poor speller and punctuator, and he seems to be writing very fast, for he dashes off, ". . . heer's a scull now hath lyen you o' the earth 23 yeeres" for F1's "Heres a Scull now: this Scul has laine in the earth three and twenty years.[204] Finally, he persistently mixes up his s's and e's at the ends of words: "right of warre" for "rites of war" (F1).[205] And to taper off this picture of our scribe as picturesquely as Mr. Wilson has done for his Scribe C (of

191 II, ii, 190, 626; III, iii, 72; etc. Wilson finds a total of 37 such illustrations (*The Manuscript*, II, 230), and this huge number well shows the comprehensive nature of Mr. Wilson's meticulous word-grubbing in contrast to our rapid survey for general tendencies. In the realm of pure statistics we shall, persistently, it seems, have to defer to Mr. Wilson, or his assistants.

192 II, ii, 54. The 1676 Q. of *Hamlet* still preserves this spelling.

193 V, iii, 204.

194 IV, vii, 92.

195 III, ii, 56.

196 V, i, 10.

197 III, iii, 79.

198 IV, vii, 192.

199 V, ii, 171.

200 V, ii, 193.

201 I, iv, 38.

202 V, ii, 283.

203 V, ii, 336.

204 V, i, 190.

205 V, ii, 410. This may indicate that he is trying to introduce some shorthand, for Mr. Matthews' third type of possible short-hand error is "plurals for singulars and singulars for plurals of nouns and pronouns"—*op. cit.*, p. 482.

F1), we might very boldly and somewhat humorously "fancy" that our scribe even got down his dictator's stammering, as in his "our cull-cold maydes" for F1's "our cold maids".[206] So much for this Sribe X (so let us call him) behind the Q2 text. It is he, supported by the subsequent compositor, who is responsible for many of the errors in Q2. And it is he who throws a possible suspicion of piracy across the hitherto unblotted escutcheon of Q2, inasmuch as we can see no reason why the promptbook keeper should take the trouble to dictate from Transcript A instead of turning it over directly to the composition. Why, again, did that abrupt omission come in V, ii, 68-80 in Q2, where line 67 breaks off in mid air (as shown above) and is followed by the omission of 13 complete lines?[207] Was the promptbook keeper suddenly interrupted in a surreptitious dictation of Transcript A, to return later, confusedly, after a drink of good ale, to a spot thirteen lines below? This is all, as we have said above, fanciful conjecture, but so was the creation of Mr. Wilson's Scribe C of F1. Q2 probably is not pirated at all,[208] but these peculiarities and the abrupt break in Act V certainly throw some suspicion on it.

Before, finally, suggesting a highly conjectural summary of Q2's relation to the two-part play, let us once more glance briefly at the eight main excrescences in Q2, discussed at the beginning of Section IV above.[209] Of these eight, numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, and 8 contained particularly bad features which may be thought to be due to memorial reconstruction on the part of a dictator promptbook keeper; but numbers 2, 5, and 7 were so good (by reference to the F1 text and their own want of bad flaws) that they must have been in Transcript A. We may add that one other passage in Q2 (and not in F1) shows some confusion: IV, i, 40-44; but that a similar excrescence in IV, vii, 69-82, seems perfectly

206 IV, vii, 172.

207 For the two other large omissions, see Notes 70 and 185. Q2 was apparently the product of several revisions; it is possible that Shakspere used Florio's translation of Montaigne in 1603 for the last revision (as Mr. Hardin Craig thinks); but see Miss Gerda Okerlunds explanation of the Montaigne problem, *op. cit.*, p. 833n.

208 But suppose one proposed a memorizer to account for the variants in the Osric dialogue, the minor omissions in Q2 *passim*, prose written as verse, confusion of speech prefixes, omission of stage-directions? And what of the confusion in Act IV due to condensation (footnote 164)? Such things have happened in piracies.

209 I, i, 108-125; I, iv, 17-38; III, iv, 161-5, 167-70, 202-10; IV, iv, 9-66; IV, vii, 115-26; V, ii, 110-40, 203-18.

all right. Hence, whether the promptbook keeper was surreptitiously dictating the whole of Q2 to Ling's scribe* (as he probably did in the case of Q1), or whether Roberts's presence argues a degree of dignity in the transaction, the fact remains that six excrescences in Q2 are so dubious, for one reason or another, that they must have come from an attempt to recall spots of the larger two-part play behind Q2 and F1. These bad excrescenes, then, we present as additional evidence, textually, of an original two-part play.

The relation of Q2 to the two-part play may have been something like this: The keeper of the promptbook, "pirating" a transcript behind and slightly different from that behind F1,[210] delivered the play to a rather stupid scribe and tried to recall some long passages from the original two-part play to fill out the copy for Ling and Roberts. The sequence and difference of the transcripts behind Q2 and F1 we shall not discuss,[211] nor shall we try to indicate how much F1 has to do textually with the two part version. We have been satisfied merely to concentrate on the presence of this two-part original as indicated in Q2.

VIII.

In conclusion, then, we would combine these textual aspects of Q2 with the external and internal evidence presented in our Sections V and VI to prove that in Q2 and F1

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210 The sequence of transcripts may possibly be suggested by the fact that in F1 the Dumbshow reading (or stage-direction) contains 118 words, in Q2 108, and in Q1 45. If the two-part play was going through a process of cutting, then F1 is an earlier text than Q2, but then again Transcript B, behind F1, may merely have been cut more at this spot than Transcript A, behind Q2. That the two Transcripts must have been very much alike appears from the reading "sexten heere" in Q2 at V, i, 177, for the bad F1 "sixeteene". Here there is no doubt about the value of the Q2 reading (no auditory illusion), and the original word in both Transcripts was the same, the F1 printer mistaking it in 1623.

211 See Note 210. Mr. Wilson's figures in *The Manuscript,* I, 41, 158-9, and 11, 333, 337, 339 would seem to indicate that F1 is nearer Part 1 in its full form and Q2 is nearer Part II in its full form; that Q1 was cut more in Acts IV and V (= Part II) than in Acts I, II, and III (= Part I)—in other words, that the telescoped play (and Q1 is a good version from that angle) was cut more in Part II than in Part I; hence our attempt to point out the possible omissions in Acts IV and V above. To sum up, Q1 is a well-telescoped, one-part play for touring purposes; Q2 and F1 represent the Two-Part play cut somewhat differently in different transcripts; and F1 is the better text of the two. For the general development of this paper we are greatly indebted to the valuable procedure inaugurated by Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum in his important *Troilus and Cressida* papers in *SAB* (Apr. and July, 1934).

we have two accidentally printed texts of two transitional, theatrical versions of a play in the process of being cut down from an unprinted two-part original (written in the late 1590's) to an acting version compressed for production in two hours—a version which was probably never printed, as Mr. Hart points out.[212] It may be unfortunate that we have neither this final acting version nor the original two-part play, but we do possess, thanks to money-making (and unscrupulous?) printers and to Shakspere's actor-friends, two versions of the play which are sufficient to show us what genius was at its height, even though they have been mangled by both friends and foes. Would that we had those other two versions!

212 See our Section II above.

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PISTOL AND THE ROARING BOYS

By DANIEL C. BOUGHNER

PISTOL'S name, as King Henry says, sorts well with his fierceness;[1] but this fierceness, though the key to his rôle, does not sort well with the critics, who, like Professor Stoll[2] and Professor Dowden,[3] dismiss him as a purely conventional figure, or, like Hazlitt,[4] let the greater glory dim the less and dispose of Falstaff's cronies without Falstaff, as satellites without a sun. Such an interpretation as Professor Stoll's, however, overlooks the possibility that living, not literary, models sat for this portrait, which belongs to a gallery of realistic sketches of the boisterous Elizabethan scene; and short shrift, such as Hazlitt's, ignores the basic type in this series. Shakspere's plays mirror the disintegration of the tightly organized feudal society of the Middle Ages based on birth, and the gradual emergence amidst social confusion of a new upstart nobility risen from the ranks of trade. As Hamlet laments, "the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe";[5] and cits and countrymen flocked to seek their fortunes at Westminster, some to fail, like Don Armado, others, like Osric and Horatio, to succeed. All and sundry, regardless of purpose and estate, drifted to the tavern as the center of Elizabethan social life; and it apparently became the theater of a social evolution of which Pistol represents the elementary phase: he is the bullying buck on his seamier side—"gutter-snipe", Professor Lawrence brands him[6]—who by his mighty tongue and sordid escapades has won note

[1] *Henry V,* ed. W. J. Craig in *The Histories and Poems of Shakespeare,* Oxford, 1925, IV. i. 62. This edition will be used in this paper.

[2] E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies,* New York, 1927, p. 429. He stamps Pistol as a descendant of the *miles gloriosus.*

[3] Edward Dowden, in *Shakespeare, ed. cit.,* p. 361.

[4] William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays,* Everyman ed., New York, 1906, p. 164. Only Sarrazin and Winckler, following the suggestion of Wyndham, have sought a living model. But their arguments that Pistol is a caricature of John Marston and that Pistol's comical rhodomontade is a parody of Marstons satires rest on stylistic resemblances that probably stem from a common source in contemporary life (G. Sarrazin, *Beitr. zum roman. u. engl. philol.,* Breslau, 1902, ss. 182 ff. C. Winckler, "Marston's Erstlingswerke und ihre Beziehungen zu Shakespeare," *Englische Studien, XXXIII,* pp. 218 ff. George Wyndham, *Poems of Shakespeare,* London, 1898, pp. *LXVIII-IX.*).

[5] *Hamlet,* ed. W. J. Craig, V. i. 144-46.

[6] W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies,* New York, 1931, p. 66.

among the men about town as a roaring boy.[7] Don Armado depicts a higher stage: the scion of peasants or shopkeepers, he essays the fashionable vices of the gallant, and aspires to the court.[8] Sir Andrew Aguecheek represents a still higher stage: an unseasoned youth of mean birth but acceptable income, he consorts with persons of good blood in this dawning era of plutocracy, and lays claim even to the hand of a countess.[9] These social climbers fail laughably, for Shakspere regularly depicts this evolution with corrosive satire. Pistol, like Iago, never rises above the status of the petty officer; and, as Iago, as the hired protector of the callow Roderigo, chose the most honorable means at his disposal of eking out a precarious living,[10] Pistol chose the worst. Two basic motives govern his actions, one social and one economic: the former spurs him to polite affectations, the latter leads him into evil courses. But Shakspere keeps him in the class where he belongs despite his gentlemanly aspirations, and we leave him as we found him, the half-starved soldier driven by grim want to the career of pimp and cutpurse.

Pistol's ups and downs form a slice-of-life picture of the roaring boy, who on his more respectable side is a follower of the fashions and a pretender to gentlemanly attributes, but on his seamier side is the petty thief and haunter of the tavern and the brothel. Swelling like a turkey-cock, he strikes at his first entrance, the keynote of his rôle: "swaggering Pistol", Doll Tearsheet calls him, "the foul-mouthest rogue in England.[11] His threat to "discharge" upon Dame Quickly "with two bullets"[12] suggests that he cus-

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[7] *Henry V,* III. vii. 62 ff.

[8] See the present writer's "Don Armado as a Gallant", *R. A.-A.,* October, 1935, pp. 18 ff.

[9] See J. W. Draper, "The wooing of Olivia" *Neophil.* Shakspere seemingly assimilated to Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch many of the features of the English gallant. Falstaff, a gentleman born and reared as a Page at court, has experienced all the *splendeurs et misères* of life in city and tavern, in war and peace, but sinks into the *demi-monde* under the weight of a depraved and uncertain career. Sir Toby Belch, whose birth is likewise good and whose experience is likewise broad, must play the social mentor to Sir Andrew Aguecheek to get himself bailed out of narrow straits.

[10] See J. W. Draper, "This Poor Trash of Venice", *J.E.G.Ph.,* XXX, 508 ff.; and "Honest Iago", *P.M.L.A.,* Sept., 1931.

[11] *2 Henry IV,* II. iv. 71-73. The reference to "swaggering Pistol" in the title of the quarto ed. suggests his rôle, and the first quarto ed. of *Henry V* also includes "Auntient Pistol" in the title. Such bill-boarding implies that this mirror held up to the roarer tickled the risibilities of the Elizabethans.

[12] *Ibid.,* II. iv. 112-15. [13] *Ibid.,* II. iv. 123 ff. and 142-49.

tomarily marked off the reckoning by bullying the hostess; and Doll's stream of abuse and his rejoinder indicate that for other comforts also he had beaten the tavern out of payment.[13] Like Brawling Contention, the typical roarer described by Lodge as "a chiefe caterpiller in the citie", he plays his tricks in tavern and brothel without charges, silencing the hostess by the menace of his dagger,[14] or like the drunken knave in *Diogenes Lanthorne* who would deal stabs when refused a pledge and gave the hostess nought but oaths.[15] These swaggering ruffians, swearing "threepil'd oathes in a Tauerne",[16] overran the city, and robbed along the highways, and "will cousen, cheat, robbe, kill and steale, Till for your cloathes, Hangman and Broker deale".[17] When lit with wine, such a one, after the manner of Pistol, "hath stab'd the Constable, beate the Watch, broke the Tapster's head, and lyen with his Hostesse."[18] Stung by Doll's taunts, he mouths the bombast of the old plays, and bursts into the terrifying rage of the roaring boy.[19] With a menacing flourish, he lays down his sword; but, quick to take offense, he snatches it up again, bent on "incision" and "gaping wounds".[20] He has, in short, mastered an accomplishment without which the gay young spark could not "proceed in the reputation of gallantry", to wit, the art of roaring. This, the London gallant conned in lieu of adequate police protection:[22] for his personal safety, he might depend on a good right arm and a trained blade; or by learning the military jargon and swaggering like the soldier he counterfeited he might depend on his reputation as a fighter;[23] or a poor swordsman might, like Pistol, with his "cat-a-mountain" looks and "bold-beating oaths", depend on

[14] T. Lodge, *Wits Miserie,* London, 1596, p. 63.
[15] S. Rowlands, *Works,* Hunterian Club, 1880, 3 Vols., I, *Diogenes Lanthorne,* p. 7.
[16] T. Dekker, *Non-Dramatic Works,* ed. Grosart, 5 Vols., London, 1884-86, III. 354.
[17] Rowlands, *op. cit., Ile Stabbe ye* (1604), p. 27; cf. II, *A Paire of Sly Knaves,* p. 15; and I, *Letting of Humours Blood,* p. 38.
[18] *Ibid.,* I, *Diogenes Lanthorne,* p. 11.
[19] *2 H IV,* II. iv. 135 ff. [20] *Ibid.,* II. iv. 187 ff.
[21] T. Middleton, *Works,* ed. Dyce, 5 Vols., London, 1840, III, 485.
[22] See the present writer's "Don Armado as a Gallant", *R. A.-A.,* Oct., 1935.
[23] T. Nashe, *Works,* ed. McKerrow, 5 Vols., London, 1910, I, 384. Cf. T. Overbury, *Characters,* in *Book of Characters,* ed. R. Aldington, London, pp. 112-13; Rowlands, *op. cit.,* I, *Diogenes Lanthorne,* p. 11; and B. Riche, *My Ladies Looking Glasse,* London, 1616, pp. 65 ff.

the technique of intimidation taught in the roaring schools.[24] To Falstaff, however, this tall talk, fearful demeanor, and eager blade, are only window dressing. Despite his verbal alacrity, Pistol is such a coward at heart as the roarer described by Brathwait, who "upon discourse of valour . . . hath discovered his cowardize; and this gives occasion to one of his Cumrades to triumph ore his weaknesse";[25] or Cosenage, who Pistol-fashion "threatens stabs and death, with hart, wounds & blood, yet a bloody nose hath made him call for a Chirurgion";[26] and Pistol too is tamed by "any show of resistance". Unable to stomach his borrowed fustian, Falstaff stabs him in the shoulder and thrusts him downstairs[28]—a thumbnail sketch of a typical tavern brawl.

Brawling and prostitution, indeed, had brought Dame Quickly's tavern into ill repute with the authorities.[29] The rendezvous[30] of thieves and the theater of robbery and homicide,[31] it was scarcely better than a dive.[32] "All your luxurious plots", Middleton asserts, "are begun in taverns", where the "soaking swaggerer and admirable cheater" loitered, and where gentlemen rubbed elbows with catchpoll, cheat, thief, and highwayman.[33]

In this twilight region impinging on the underworld, Pistol, unlike Iago, who shares the purse of the callow Roderigo as his military mentor, can scarcely make ends meet by any honest means. Falstaff has preëmpted him as bully to Doll Tearsheet. He is therefore reduced to the vicious courses of a low gamester and a petty thief.[34] Doll gibes at him as cutpurse, cheat, and pick-pocket,[35] saying in

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[24] Middleton, *op. cit.*, III, 504 ff. Cf. R. Brathwait, *The English Gentleman*, London, 1633, p. 41; and *The Drinking Academy*, ed. Rollins, *P.M.L.A.*, XXXX, 837 ff.

[25] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[26] Rowlands, *op. cit.*, I, *Diogenes Lanthorne*, p. 11.

[27] *2 H IV*, II. iv. 97-100.

[28] *Ibid.*, II. iv. 200 ff. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 434 n, regards this action as ringing a change on the conventional dramatic situation of the coward fighting the coward. Its intense realism, however, points to an origin in contemporary life, which abounded in roarers who were *ipso facto* cowards.

[29] *Ibid.*, II. iv. 86 ff. Cf. the references to "Hiren", *ibid.*, II. iv. 180-83; and cf, *H V*, II. i. 33-36.

[30] Thus Pistol refers to the establishment in *H V* V. i. 85.

[31] *2 H IV*, V. iv. 18-19.

[32] Nashe, *op. cit.*, II, 148 ff.

[33] Middleton, *op. cit.*, V, 575-76 and 532.

[34] *2 H IV*, II. iv. *passim; Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. W. J. Craig, I. i. 122 ff.

[35] *2 H IV*, II. iv. 128-33. [36] *MWW*, I. i. 122 ff.

effect that in spite of his pretensions, he has sunk to the lowest order in the hierarchy of thieves. By getting Slender drunk and picking his pockets, Pistol, in company with Falstaff's other cony-catching rascals,[36] further resembles his London prototype, particularly Brawling Contention, who "to cunnycatch a countreyman, . . . shall giue place to none in Newgate".[37] His sidestepping the blame and his cowing Silence in Shallow's garden[38] are reminiscent of Overbury's Roaring Boy, whose terrific bluster

> makes many a country justice tremble . . . [who] sends challenges by word of mouth: (for he protests as he is a gentleman and a brother of the sword) he can neither write nor read . . . He cheats young gulls newly come to town . . . [is] supervisor to brothels . . . [but] no soldier,

and who maintains himself by borrowing,[39] as Pistol would like to do.[40] In Windsor, he will not stoop to pander. On leaving Falstaff's service, however, he does not prosper; and the impecunious master consigns his impecunious henchman to the shifts of the cutpurse, with "a short knife and a throng".[41] When Sir John tosses Quickly his purse for her diligence as a go-between, Pistol slinks forth in a burst of naval metaphor to resume his accustomed trade[42]

His fortunes mend only when the chance of war brings him a fine ransom or when his marriage to Dame Quickly raises him to the station of taverner and a more regular income. Thus he joined the nest of gallants "maintained by their drawn-work dames and their embroidered mistresses, . . . [who] can dispend their 2,000 a-year out of other men's coffers, and who, like him, keep a boy at their heels.[43] Only in part did he heed Nashe's warning to those

> that beare the name of souldiers, and liue baslie swaggering in euerie ale-house, hauing no other exhibition but from harlots and strumpets; seeke some newe trade, and leave whoring and quarrelling.

On the contrary, he followed the example of those who, with "no trade to liue on, . . . marie a whore, and keepe victual-

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[37] Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 63. [38] *2 H IV*, V. iii. 77 ff.
[39] Overbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40. [40] *MWW*, II. ii. 1 ff.
[41] *Ibid.*, II. ii. 5 ff. [42] *Ibid.*, II. ii. 130 ff.
[43] Middleton, *op. cit.*, V, 523.
[44] Nashe, *op. cit.*, I, 384. On this system of support, see Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

ling",[45] decayed soldiers, many of them, or idle serving men, like Pistol, cashiered by Falstaff.

Pistol's very presence in the army reveals the low plane of military life:[46] he and his cronies got their posts only through Sir John, who is, as he reminds them, "damned in hell for swearing to gentlemen my friends, you were good soldiers and tall fellows."[47] Roaring devil, as the boy names him,[48] he utterly lacks the military temper, and would trade all his fame for a pot of ale and the safety of a London alehouse,[49] where like his London prototype he might at least boast and swagger. His wild and whirling words may for a while deceive Fluellen;[51] but they come, as the boy sneers, from a white-livered swasher who "hath a killing tongue and a quiet sword."[52] Though a mighty braggart, he is a poor hand at blows; his only consolation is the knowledge that Fluellen does not proceed according to the rules, but like a foreigner is ignorant of the English art of roaring. The farce of his briskness of tongue and martial reluctance culminates in the stout cudgelling the Welshman gives him; and he defends himself by verbal thunderbolts, and dares not in his deeds avouch any of his words, but stands exposed before the entire camp as "a counterfeit cowardly knave",[53] chiefly renowned, like Brawling Contention and his brother roarers, for oral manslaughter.

His empty pockets and an itching palm shape his career in war as in peace. As an "ancient" or ensign, he drew hardly enough pay to keep body and soul together.[54] Reduced to shifts no more criminal than the peculations of Falstaff and other officers, he scratches up a mean subsistence. Falstaff dead, he feels entitled, apparently because of his superior position as the husband of Quickly, to the leadership of the gang of thieves.[55] He and Nym reach an understanding: "I'll live by Nym and Nym shall live by me"; and, as sutler

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[45] Rowlands, *op. cit.*, I *Greenes Ghost,* p. 23. Bawds, according to Nashe, lived in plenty (*op. cit.*, II, 151).

[46] See J. W. Draper, "Sir John Falstaff", *R.E.S.*, VIII (Oct., 1932), and "Honest Iago."

[47] *MWW*, II, ii. 9-11. [48] *H V*, IV. iv. 72.

[49] *Ibid.*, III. ii. 13-15. [50] Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[51] *H V*, III. 12-16 and 64-65. [52] *Ibid.*, III. ii. 29 ff.

[53] *Ibid.*, V. i. 19 ff.

[54] See J. W. Draper, "Honest Iago and "Sir John Falstaff".

[55] *H V*. II. i. 18 ff. [56] *Ibid.*, II. i. 109-14.

to the camp, he expects that "profits will accrue". If on the eve of their departure they shed a tear for Falstaff their grief is clearly venal: as Bardolph laments while pointing to his nose, "Well, the fuel is gone that maintained that fire: that's all the riches I got in his service".[57] During the campaign Pistol shares the spoils but not the dangers of his confederates,[58] who pilfer and pick pockets,[59] and finally swing from the gibbet.[60] His source of income cut off by these untimely deaths, the itching palm gets the better of his fear, and he captures Monsieur le Fer, whose ransom money tides him over a needy interval.[61] At last, however, he returns to his customary tricks, a cutpurse and a rogue, as Gower sneers, "that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself out at his return under the form of a soldier". He will know all the great commanders' names, describe battles in great detail, conned "perfectly in the phrase of war" and embellished with "new-tuned oaths". And what a beard "of the general's cut and horrid suit of the camp will do among ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on".[62]

Back in London, he would follow Dekker's advice to the returned soldier to

> talk how often you have been in action . . . how honorably your Grace used you . . .; how often you have drunk with Count such a one, on your knees to your Grace's health; and let it be your virtue to give place to [no] Dutchman . . . for that soldier's compliment of drinking.

Thus he seems compounded with the bogus traveller who haunted taverns to fleece young novices;[64] with the "affectuate Traveller", who "maintains his reputation by naming great men familiarly";[65] with the mighty gallant who

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[57] *Ibid.*, II. iii. 5-6 and 43-44. Bradley misses the point in declaring that "Mrs. Quickly and Bardolph are his slaves, but they know not why". (*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1926).

[58] *Ibid.*, IV. iv. 68-75. [59] *Ibid.*, III. ii. 43 ff.

[60] *Ibid.*, IV. iv. 73-74.

[61] *Ibid.*, Iv. iv. 7 ff. Officers apparently were supposed to live from the ransom of prisoners (Draper, "Sir John Falstaff").

[62] *H V*, III. vi. 68 ff.

[63] T. Dekker, *Gull's Horn-Book*, ed. McKerrow, London, 1907, p. 50.

[64] R. Greene, *Defence of Conny-Catching*, ed. G. B. Harrison in Bodley Head Quartos, X, pp. 33-34.

[65] Overbury, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

recited foreign tumults and foreign customs;[66] and with the "needie gallaunt", who "liues by telling of newes, & False dice, and it may be hath a pretie insight into the cards also".[67] Shakspere's roarer, thus, would seem to strike the characteristic poses of his living brothers.

His plans as well as blows having fallen about his ears, he casts about for a livelihood. He might have made recourse to a "sconce", such as Brathwait describes, where roarers who had been accounted men in their time gave instruction to the raw and unseasoned youth in the art of roaring and other "compliments";[68] or he might have sold his services as "companion to prodigal youths, as did Iago, Falstaff, and Sir Toby Belch. Instead, he reverts with a groan to the life of a vagabond:

> News have I that my Nell is dead i' the spital
> Of malady of France:
> And there my rendezvous is quite cut off.
> . . . Well, bawd I'll turn,
> And something lean to cutpurse of quick hand.
> To England will I steal, and there I'll steal:
> And patches will I get unto these cudgell'd scars,
> And swear I got them in the Gallia wars.[69]

Pistol states the prospect with grim literalness; for, as More had long ago complained, old soldiers, especially those home from the wars, found no way to get a living and in desperation turned thief or beggar,[70] or if

> when they came from the warres, eyther by breaking vp of the Campe, or by running away from their colours to see their friends . . . [they] cannot betake themselues to any honest trade of life, but louing to live in idlenesse, betake themselues to robbing and stealing;[71]

and indeed, "the hardiest soldiers . . . if they escape all hazards, and return home again, if they be without relief of their friends they will surely desperately rob and steal". An old soldier like Pistol might well suffer as inevitable an abasement to the gutter.

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[66] Rowlands, *op. cit.*, I, *Letting of Humours Blood,* pp. 45 ff. Cf. Lodge, op. cit., p. 4.
[67] Nashe, *op. cit.*, I, 365. [68] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[69] *H V,* V. 1. 82-91.
[70] Sir T. More, *Utopia,* tr. R. Robinson, Everyman ed., p. 21.
[71] Rowlands, *op. cit.*, II, *Martin Markall,* p. 52.

Yet he does not represent the genus gutter-snipe in its purity. The social ferment of the time has stirred him; he seeks to better his station, and to that end he has studied the pattern of the man of fashion, the gallant. For example, he frequents a famous tavern, as Dekker[73] and Middleton[74] recommended to such as desired to be of good reckoning in the city; and he is skilled in the fashionable vices. Like the Idle Gallant, he "obserues London trulier than the Termers, and his businesse is the street, the Stage, the Court, and those places where a proper man is best showne". He is "qualified in gaming extraordinary . . . and hee learnes the beast [best] oathes for the purpose . . . he is as curious in their newnesse as the fashion".[75] He roars in the prevailing mode;[76] he drinks himself drunk in ale-house and tavern,[77] doubtless according to the elaborate etiquette of the day;[78] and he is ever ready with his sword:[79] it is a word and a blow with him—better the word than the blow.[80] He also budgets his time as did the Idle Gallant, whose day passed with swaggering, swearing, dicing, drabbing, and drinking profoundly.[81]

He mimics his betters, moreover, by pretending to gentlemanly honor; he gives the lie to Slender and stands ready with a restless blade to defend his word of honor, the distinguishing mark of the Renaissance gentleman; and, if he must be a thief, he'll live by his sword as a highwayman or gentleman thief.[83] Full of contempt for these pretensions, Falstaff snorts, "You, rogue, will esconce your rags, your cat-a-mountain looks, your red-lattice phrases, and your

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[72] T. Harman, *Caveat for Common Cursetors,* ed. Hindley, London, 1871, p. 15.

[73] Dekker, *Gull's Horn-Book,* p. 69. [74] Middleton, *op. cit.,* V, 573-74.

[75] J. Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie,* ed. Arber, London, 1868, p. 39.

[76] See above, pp. 3-4.

[77] *2 H IV,* II. iv. 111 ff.; H V, III. ii. 13-15.

[78] See the present writer's "The Drinking Academy and Contemporary London", *Neophil,* XIX.

[79] *2 H IV,* II. iv. 187 ff.; *MWW,* I. ii. 76-77 and 92-94; and *H V,* II. i. 36 ff.

[80] Note his relief when Bardolph stays the embattled Nym (*HV,* II. i. 36 ff.)

[81] Earle, *op. cit.,* p. 73; W. Hornby, *The Scourge of Drunkennes,* ed. Halliwell, London, 1859, pp. 9 ff.; Sir John Harington, *Nugae Antiqual,* ed. H. Harington and T. Park, London, 1804; Sir John Davies, *Epigrams* (1598); Rowlands, I, *Letting of Humours Blood,* p. 13, and elsewhere in Rowlands; Nashe, *op. cit.,* I, 214.

[82] Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century,* Urbana, Ill., 1939, pp. 96 ff.

[83] *MWW,* I. ii. 76. On highwaymen as "gentlemen robbers", see Rowlands, *op. cit.* II, *Martin Markall* p. 50.

bold-beating oaths, under the shelter of your honor!"[84] Perhaps with his fierceness, his swearing, his basket-hilted sword,[85] and even his rags, Pistol merely seeks to model himself on Brawling Contention, who looked at a man as if he would eat him, and whose

> ordinary apparell is a little low crownd hat with a fether in it . . . his haires are curled, and full of elues-locks . . . his doublet is of cast Satten, cut sometime vpon Taffeta, but that the bumbast hath eaten through it, and spotted here and here with pure fat, . . . and his breeches are as desperate as himselfe, for they are past mending; his weapons are a basket hilted sword, and a bum dagger; and if hee keepe these from pawne, he is sure of a living.[86]

Like Pistol, this roarer is "a passing good railer"; and if you "call him lesse than a gentleman souldier, Zowndes you are a villaine."[87] Honor and drink, Overbury asserts, are ever drawing the sword of the soldier, who is, like Pistol, "a great desirer of controversies, . . . argues sharply and carries his conclusion in his scabbard."[88]

Pistol's ornamented speech betrays not only an eagerness to be in the fashion, but also a hankering after the elevation of the court. A veritable tissue of theatrical reminiscences,[89] it reveals this roaring boy and would-be gallant as a devoted playgoer. As Dekker says, "your gallant, your courtier, and your captain had wont to be the soundest" patrons of the theaters, which stuff their heads with bombast; and they "deal in this comical freight by the gross".[90] "Hoard up", he tells such as Pistol, "the finest play-scraps . . . upon which your lean wit may most savourly feed, for want of other stuff", when in the presence of the "Arcadian and Euphuized gentlewomen", who affected the high style to be in the fashion. Indeed, to make your English sweet upon the tongue was, "next to your shittlecock [shuttlecock], . . . the only furniture to a courtier that's but a new beginner, and is but in his ABC of compliment".[91] These fantastic elegancies of speech may, as Professor Draper suggests, be-

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[84] *MWW*, II. ii. 20 ff. [85] *2 H IV*, II. iv. 131.
[86] Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 63. [87] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[88] Overbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.
[89] See, for example, eds. of *2 H IV*, *H V*, and *MWW* by Rolfe and others; c,, Dowden, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
[90] Dekker, *Gull's Horn-Book*, p. 59. [91] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

speak a bowing acquaintance with the court.[92] But in order to soothe his itching palm, Pistol also sought in the playhouse more tangible satisfactions than a mere aping of the fashion provided. But, in order to soothe his itching palm, Pistol also sought in the playhouse more tangible satisfactions than a mere aping of the fashion provided.
The reminding pinch of poverty doubtless compelled him to sacrifice his social aspirations and, like other rogues, to follow his craft of cutpurse and pickpocket among the crowd.[93]

His motto, "Si fortuna me tormente, sperato me contento", with its dubious Italian, shows that he has heeded Dekker's counsel to mimic gentlemen and get some scraps of Italian to fling about the table among tavern wits.[95] Perhaps he is also trying to use an impresa in imitation of the knight or nobleman who could properly use one.[96] On occasion he affects gentility, as in his scorn of the "most mechanical and dirty hand" that had haled Doll to prison;[97] he insists on such a euphemism as "convey" for "steal!" and he regards as base the term of "host" that he had honestly acquired by marriage. Clearly, however, Shakspere does not intend his audience to sympathize with Pistol's efforts to shed the marks of his birth and calling and to rise to a higher station. Even when married to an income, he lives on the seamy side of life.[100] Economic stringency makes a hollow mockery of his social aspirations, and he sinks back into the slough of the London underworld, his gold-plate phrases no longer ringing in our ears.

Pistol, then, does not, as the critics who dismiss him casually believe, exhibit merely a stage poltroon's theatrical braggartism. On the contrary, he seems closely modeled after a common Elizabethan type, the roaring boy, whose

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92 J. W. Draper, "Sir John Falstaff".
93 E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 Vols., London, 1923, II, 441 and 534.
94 *2 H IV*, II. iv. 185 and V. v. 99. 95 Dekker, *Gull's Horn-Book*, p. 50. Pistol often garnishes his utterance with romance words: cf. *2 HIV*, V. v. 28; *MWW*, I. i. 159; *HV*, II. i. 73 and 80-81; and *HV*, IV. 1. 35. Sarrazin regards this affectation as a satire on Marston's love of foreign phrases (*op. cit.*, ss. 182 ff).
96 I am indebted to Prof. A. H. Gilbert for this suggestion. W. S. Hoole shows in Thomas Middleton's Use of *Impresæ*", *SP*, XXXI 215 ff., how emblematic material was used humorously to reveal the character of the five gallants. Professor Gilbert in "Falstaff's *Impresa*", *N&Q*, *CLXIV*, 389, lists *Falstaff* among the characters who employed emblems.
97 *2 H IV*, V. v. 34-36. 98 *MWW*, I. ii. 25-26.
100 *Ibid.*, II, i. 33-36.

characteristics he displays, and whose resort—the London tavern with its evil pageant—serves as his refuge. With Falstaff and his cronies, he forms a picture of the soldier-types[101] of the period. He is not a gentleman like Falstaff; nor is he a gutter-snipe like Nym and Bardolph. As an old soldier, he must, like them, fight starvation with every resource, good or bad; but, unlike them, he would seem to aspire, in an age of social confusion and rapid social change, to advance his station. Even his gentlemanly affectations have their origin in the social whirligig, for the rise of the upstart from the tavern to the court, or his abasement from the proud status of the courtier and the gallant to the stealthy calling of a pimp, was a commonplace of an age when "the lady of the Strachey married the yeoman of the wardrobe",[102] and when a Malvolio confidently presumed to skip from the grade of chamberlain to become the consort of a countess.[103] This evolution Shakspere would seem to depict in Don Armado, in Sir Andrew Aguecheek, and in Pistol, who represents the elementary phase. In short, the rôle of Pistol reflects the actual London scene with a vividness sharpened at every turn by reference to contemporary life. Compact of the intense realism that permeates the plays, it is another instance of the mirror held up to nature.

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101 The name "Pistol" may be an allusion to the change in military life from the old feudal to the modern professionalized army (see J. W. Draper, "Captain General Othello", *Anglia,* LV, 296-310). A pistoleer was sometimes called a "pistol" (*N.E.D.*). Wyndham, however, believes that "Pistol" is a nickname possibly applied to Marston after Ben Jonson beat him and took his pistol from him (*op. cit.,* p. *LXVIII*).

102 *Twelfth Night,* II. v. 40-41.

103 J. W. Draper, "Olivia's Household", *P.M.L.A., XLI.X,* 802 ff.

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THE KING IN "HAMLET"

By J. M. Beatty, Jr.

SHAKSPERE'S Claudius is a man not altogether bad who, because of uncontrolled passion and insatiate ambition, becomes a murderer. Since Hamlet fills the stage, one is liable to overlook the care with which the dramatist developed the character of the king. I shall attempt to give a fair presentation of the evidence as to what I believe Shakspere intended the 'villain' of the piece to be.

The first time that the king appears in the play is in the court-scene in Act I. Here he acquits himself admirably as a king. His first speech shows how good a politician he is. In commenting upon his hasty marriage, he explains how he had previously asked the advice of his ministers. Next, he deals simply with the most pressing international problem confronting the state. He sends Cornelius and Voltimand with a detailed letter to the King of Norway to direct him to suppress young Fortinbras in his efforts to raise troops to use against Denmark. At the same time he instructs the two ambassadors that they have no power to add to the directions he has given them.

Next, Claudius turns to Laertes whom he addresses in kindly, affectionate terms. He lays emphasis upon the fact that he is glad to do any possible favors for the son of Polonius. The king's manners are gracious and friendly.

The friendliness continues in the king's speech to Hamlet:

> "But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son."

As a childless king who will be succeeded by his nephew, he has every reason for desiring to conciliate him.

It is in the king's next speech, beginning,

> "T is sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet,"

that we begin to see in the king a lack of fineness of feeling. He remonstrates with his nephew, gently, to be sure, for continuing to mourn for his father. According to reason,

alone, it is admirable advice, full of commonsense and stoical judgment. But Claudius does not understand how cold these words must sound to his black-garbed and sorrowing heir. At the conclusion of his speech he asks Hamlet to remain in Elsinore,

> "Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son."

To this Hamlet does not reply at once, and the queen adds,

> "Let not thy mother lose her prayers, Hamlet:
> I pray thee stay with us; go not to Wittenberg."

Whereupon Hamlet, ignoring his uncle, replies,

> "I shall in all my best obey *you,* madam."

The king diplomatically passes over the snub and remarks,

> "Why, 'tis a loving and a fair reply;
> Be as ourself in Denmark."

The last part of the speech, announcing the firing of cannon whenever the king drinks deeply, indicates Claudius's drinking habits and would indicate in him a rather vulgar love of the sensational, if it were not for the fact that Hamlet later explains to Horatio that it is a customary phenomenon.

In the soliloquy which follows, Hamlet contrasts the elder Hamlet with Claudius:

> "So excellent a king; that was, to this,
> Hyperion to a satyr."

Again, he says,

> "My father's brother, but no more like my father
> Than I to Hercules."

Without any desire to whitewash the king or to invalidate Hamlet's testimony, there are one or two points that should be considered in regard to the prejudice of the former king's son.

In the first place, until his mother's remarriage Hamlet had apparently loved her and trusted her implicitly. He almost worshipped his father. There is a strong probability, under the circumstances, that Hamlet, as the loyal son of his father and the jealous son of his mother, would have

been hostile to anyone who succeeded his father in his mother's affections. He would have tended to contrast him unfavorably with the elder Hamlet.

By remarrying in haste, Gertrude tended to destroy her son's illusions about her and to shatter the previous integrity of his emotional life already impaired by his father's death. It needed only the defection of Ophelia to complete the work of disintegration.

Under these circumstances, I believe we should tend somewhat to discount the evidence about his uncle's character that Hamlet gives—evidence that no one else in the play corroborates except the ghost, who is (naturally) prejudiced.

The ghost, it will be remembered, calls Claudius an incestuous and adulterate beast who by his intellectual cleverness and treacherous gifts had won the love of Gertrude. He explains in a rather self-glorifying manner that physically Claudius was not so prepossessing as he. He furthermore accuses Claudius of a very subtle murder that came close to being a perfect crime.

After the ghost departs, Hamlet mentions one of the outstanding mannerisms of the king, his continuous smiling—

> "O villain, villain, smiling damnëd villain!
> My tables,—meet it is I set it down
> That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain."

In Act II, the king appears first with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. He had sent for them to aid in ascertaining the cause of the utter transformation that Hamlet had undergone. His purpose in doing so was to remedy the young man's condition. It should be remembered that Hamlet is his nephew, the heir to the throne; as yet the king has no suspicion that Hamlet knows anything about a crime that no living person besides himself could have known about from personal observation. The queen, who loves Hamlet deeply, adds her entreaties to those of her husband.

When Polonius brings word to the king and queen in regard to the return of the ambassadors from Norway, Claudius courteously says,

> "Thou still hast been the father of good news."

When Polonius says that he thinks he has found the cause of Hamlet's lunacy, the king exclaims, in what we may assume to be real pleasure,

> "O, speak of that; that do I long to hear,"

and, in a moment, to the queen,

> "He tells me, my sweet queen, that he has found
> The head and source of all your son's distemper."

Voltimand makes his report; the king expresses approval but adds that he must consider the whole subject more carefully before he expresses an opinion. He remains silent while the queen and Polonius are discussing the latter's theory of the love origin of Hamlet's madness. Then he asks a pertinent question,

> "But how hath she
> Receiv'd his love?"

His questions are always to the point, the questions of a keen, clear-headed man.

When he has listened to another of Polonius's long speeches, Claudius turns to Gertrude to ask,

> "Do you think 'tis this?"

Polonius suggests that he and the king overhear an interview between Ophelia and Hamlet. The king decides at once to make the attempt.

It should be borne in mind that at this point in the play the king, the queen, Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern have a single aim, namely, that of discovering, by any device, the cause of Hamlet's melancholy *for the purpose of helping him to recovery*. This fact has a great deal to do with our understanding of both character and situation. Unless we understand this fact, Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern become ignoble spies.

Certainly, in a modern age when mental "breakdowns" are not infrequent, there is cooperation among family, physicians, and friends to discover the real cause of the patient's illness. Even Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, insignificant and amusing as they are, aid the king and queen by interrogating Hamlet because they are his lifelong friends called

in *to aid in his cure.* Until the play-scene, the king has no intimation as to Hamlet's knowledge of the murder. His attitude toward Hamlet up to that point is that of a solicitous uncle and step-father who for the sake of the queen and the state wishes to see the sick man restored to health.

In the beginning of Act III, the king questions Rosencrantz and Guildenstern,

> "And can you, by no drift of circumstance,
> Get from him why he puts on this confusion,
> Grating so harshly all his days of quiet
> With turbulent and dangerous lunacy?"

He is deeply concerned about the health of his heir, and genuinely relieved to learn that Hamlet has broken sufficiently through his melancholic inertia to wish to see a play and to want his mother and his step-father to see it also. It is a good sign, and he urges the two young men to encourage Hamlet in such pleasures.

He explains to the queen that he and Polonius are going to spy upon Hamlet as "lawful espials", *i.e.* as spies in a good cause, in order to discover whether or not Hamlet is suffering because of love. The queen did not see any objections to such procedure.

A very significant passage follows. Polonius, having given Ophelia a book of devotions, remarks,

> "We are oft to blame in this—
> 'Tis too much prov'd—that with devotion's visage
> And pious action we do sugar o'er
> The devil himself."

This is a commonplace remark but it is sufficient to prick the conscience of the king. In an aside he says,

> "O, 'tis too true!
> How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience!
> The harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art,
> Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it
> Than is my deed to my most painted word.
> O heavy burthen!

If the king had been a hardened criminal, he would not have been so moved by a casual speech. He has been guilty of a monstrous crime of passion in which the moving cause

is his guilty love for his brother's wife. From this he passes to murder and usurpation. There is no evidence that before this crime he was anything but an upright, able, younger brother who might have said of the elder Hamlet as Iago did of Cassio,

> "He hath a daily beauty in his life
> That makes me ugly."

After he has listened behind the arras to Hamlet's interview with Ophelia, the king is not at a loss in analyzing its purport:

> "Love! his affections do not that way tend;
> Nor what he spake, though it lack'd form a little,
> Was not like madness. There's something in his soul
> O'er which his melancholy sits on brood."

Without hesitation, the king decides that the best thing to do is to give Hamlet a change of scene. Travel may dispel the matter that is weighing on the young man's mind. This is a decision entirely devoid of malevolence, a natural course to pursue. Modern physicians, in cases of mental disturbance, often prescribe cruises for their patients. It is only after the play-scene that the king makes the journey an occasion for plotting against his nephew's life. He falls in with Polonius's suggestion that the old counsellor be hidden where he can hear the conference between Hamlet and his mother. He remarks very wisely,

> "Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go."

At the play, the king greets Hamlet courteously,

> "How fares our cousin Hamlet?"

and to Hamlet's incoherent reply responds merely that he is unable to understand him. Then he proceeds to his throne to watch the performance.

The interpretation of the king's character as revealed during the play-scene depends upon whether he saw the dumb-show or not. If he saw it, then he displayed remarkable self-control. Of course, to have halted the play at this time would have been to betray himself. On the other hand, if the king did not see the dumb-show, then Claudius was caught in the trap Hamlet had set for him and reacted with-

out self-control except as he pretended to be ill rather than merely overwhelmed by the revelation. I am inclined to believe that the king had not seen the dumb-show.

From this point in the play, the king is thoroughly on his guard. He perceives that by some means Hamlet has discovered the truth about the death of his father. Claudius is no longer the solicitous uncle seeking to help his nephew's mental illness; he is a man fighting for his life against a dangerous enemy. He knows that Hamlet intends to avenge his father's death. He knows also that because of Hamlet's popularity with the people he does not dare to act openly. He loves the queen and does not want to destroy her happiness. Yet the instinct of self-preservation warns him that he must act decisively to protect his own life. As he tells Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, in the first suggestion of hostility,

> "I like him not, nor stands it safe with us
> To let his madness range."

He continues, saying,

> "Arm you, I pray you, to this speedy voyage;
> For we will fetters put upon this fear,
> Which now goes too free-footed."

The scene in which Claudius attempts to pray, deserves considerable attention as a revelation of his true nature. He admits that the murder of his brother was nauseating. He wants to pray but his guilt prevents him. He reasons logically that prayer should be either that one be prevented from committing a crime, or that one be forgiven for a crime already committed. Logically, also, he says he cannot hope to have forgiveness when he retains the things for which he committed the crime—the crown, the kingship, and the queen. He does not intend to give up any of these.

He says that only repentance remains,

> "Try what repentance can: what can it not?
> Yet what can it when one can not repent?"

He kneels, yet though he tries to cheat himself into believing that all may be well, it is no use. All unaware of the danger that had threatened him from Hamlet during his attempt to pray, the king arises with the words,

"My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;
Words without thoughts never to heaven go."

When the queen comes to tell her husband about Polonius's death, the king acts with his accustomed decisiveness. He sees at once that if he, instead of Polonius, had been behind the arras, Hamlet would have killed him. He realizes that because he has not restricted this madman, he will be blamed for the death of Polonius. He says that he will have to send Hamlet away immediately. He summons Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to ask them to find Hamlet and tells the queen that they will have to call upon their wisest friends to let them know what has happened. In this way the family name may be protected. He concludes,

"O, come away!
My soul is full of discord and dismay."

The situation is difficult, as the king indicates in his comment just before the entrance of Hamlet, guarded. He realizes that Hamlet's freedom is dangerous to others. Yet, because Hamlet is beloved by the people, he cannot imprison him. He decides that the sudden sending away of the prince must seem to have been well thought out. Upon Hamlet's entrance, the king is direct and abrupt in his question—

"Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius?"

Throughout this scene, the king's questions are brief and pointed. When he discovers where the body is, he sends to seek it. Then he tells Hamlet he is sending him at once to England to save him from the consequences of the murder. After Hamlet has gone, however, the king drops his mask of solicitous courtesy and in soliloquy tells the audience he has sent to the King of England orders for Hamlet's death:

"For like the hectic in my blood he rages."

He will not rest easy until the deed is done For him it is a matter of life or death.

In the following scene with Ophelia and Laertes, Claudius appears as a considerate, affectionate, sad, remorseful, and brave man. He at once divines that Ophelia's madness

is due to thoughts about her father; he asks how long she has been in this condition. When he is left alone with Gertrude he seems, for the only time in the play, tired and bewildered, seeking his wife's sympathetic understanding, the solace he had sought in vain from God:

> "O Gertrude, Gertrude,
> When sorrows come, they come not single spies
> But in battalions."

Laertes has come and is being fed on rumors that do not fail to include charges against the king himself.

> "O my dear Gerrtude, this,
> Like to a murthering-piece, in many places
> Gives me superfluous death!"

Then at the doors sounds the shouting of the rabble with Laertes at their head. When the doors give way, Laertes, impetuous young man, bursts in, sword in hand and confronts the king and queen. The quen rushes between her husband and Laertes and grasps Laertes' arm. The king is outwardly calm and regal in his bearing:

> "What is the cause, Laertes,
> That thy rebellion looks so giant-like?
> Let him go, Gertrude; do not fear our person:
> There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
> That treason can but peep to what it would,
> Acts little of his will. Tell me, Laertes,
> Why thou art thus incens'd.—Let him go, Gertrude.—
> Speak, man."

The king is masterly in his calming of Laertes. His comments and questions are pertinent. No aspersions by Hamlet, no knowledge of the king's crimes can destroy the impression of kingliness that Claudius displays throughout this interview. He succeeds in quieting Laertes into a state of reason and is able to keep him in this state in spite of the moving re-entrance of Ophelia. He promises to satisfy Laertes completely in regard to his father's death. This he proceeds to do, off-stage.

When the two appear again, the king has completed his story—which, because the audience is already informed, Shakspere does not give—and Laertes inquires why the king has not proceded against Hamlet. Claudius explains that

it is (1) because of the queen's devotion to Hamlet and the king's devotion to her, and (2) because of the love the people have for the insane prince. Any attack upon Hamlet would make the people react unfavorably toward the king. At the same time he will not be attacked with impunity. He says to Laertes,

> "I lov'd your father, and we love ourself;
> And that, I hope, will teach you to imagine - - -"

Just at this moment, when he is hinting that his revenge will be complete, the king is startled by the messenger who brings news of Hamlet's return. For the moment, he is flabbergasted—he cannot believe, yet he cannot disbelieve. He quickly recovers his poise, however, and proceeds with a new plan to dispose of his enemy. Because he believes that Laertes, as a gentleman, will not willingly stoop to such baseness as unfair play in a fencing bout, he follows a roundabout course in making the suggestion. His comments upon the necessity of doing promptly what one has in mind to do is an indication of the fact that he is essentially a man of action:

> "That we would do
> We should do when we would; for this 'would' changes
> And hath abatements and delays as many
> As there are tongues, are hands, are accidents;
> And then this 'should' is like a spendthrift sigh
> That hurts by easing."

When he discovers that in his revenge Laertes is willing even

> "To cut his throat i' th' church,"

the king unfolds his dastardly scheme, namely, that Laertes in a fencing-bout with Hamlet, is to use an unblunted sword. Laertes, to go one better, suggests anointing the weapon with poison. Thereupon, Claudius suggests as a supplementary device the poisoned drink. Hamlet has escaped him once; this time the plot must not fail. It is because, perhaps, of his fear that a premature conflict between the two might have an outcome unfavorable to Laertes, that he stops the fight in the churchyard.

Hamlet, in talking with Horatio just before the bout, sums up the case against his uncle. He charges him with

adultery, murder, usurpation, and finally with a second attempt at murder, so far unsuccessful. To him it now seems clear that the king ought to die.

In the last scene, Claudius carries out his plan well. Everything moves along as he had plotted until the queen takes the poisoned cup. There is no time for him to do anything but cry out,

"Gertrude, do not drink."

He cannot even strike the cup from her hand. When at the last, Hamlet, wounded, stabs his uncle, Claudius dies in kingly fashion:

"O, yet defend me, friends; I am but hurt."

Such is the evidence in regard to the character of the king. It can be summed up briefly. In the light of the evidence, we see Claudius as an able man, brave, decisive in his judgment, swift in action. Strongly passionate by nature, he fell in love with his brother's wife. Although not physically so handsome as the elder Hamlet, he would seem to have been more ardent in the expression of his love. The elder Hamlet was calm, gracious, self-righteous, annoyingly aware of his own merits. He was more in love with his wife than she with him. Sexually, Claudius was a much better match for Gertrude.

There is no question that the love of Claudius for Gertrude was sincere and lasting. Her love for him was of the same permanent sort. She does not, before Hamlet's revelations, suspect her husband of murder. Even after that time she does her best to protect him from Laertes and the mob.

Led on by his guilty love for the queen and by his ambition, this able, courageous, and decisive man commits what he believes an undiscoverable crime—a clever and insidious murder that comes near being a perfect crime. At the same time he so arranges affairs that he, rather than Hamlet, ascends the throne. Once on the throne he governs wisely. The greatest obstacle to his happiness is his nephew who meets all his friendly advances at first with sullenness and later with undisguised hostility. Until the play-scene his main concern is to discover the cause of Hamlet's melancholy. After that scene, his main concern is to dispose of

Hamlet without antagonizing the people. He is under the necessity of doing this before Hamlet disposes of him.

The death of Polonius brings the situation to a crisis. The king is forced to act immediately. Laertes' return offers the means of killing Hamlet without the blame imputed to the king. Apparently, up to the time that Claudius fell in love with his brother's wife, the king had been free from any serious crime. Before that time he had presumably been a churchman who prayed with the belief that his prayers would be heard. As is the case with many people who commit crimes, he slipped rapidly after his first great fall from grace. His desire to kill Hamlet was increased by fear. Yet even in his fear he was shrewd, clever, well-poised.

Up to the end of the play, the king proves a worthy adversary, dangerous because of his intellect, his tact, his power of concealing his feelings under a smiling countenance. Combined with his intellect is a strong power of acting upon brief but effective consideration. When he dies, the court believes he has fallen at the hands of a madman. It is only Horatio who can tell the truth.

Claudius is not a wholly bad man; he is a man of great talents, misled by passion into the commission of a great crime.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ALLUSIONS TO SHAKSPERE

The following references to *Macbeth, Lear* and *Henry VIII* in seventeenth-century literature may be of interest I have looked up all the obvious books of reference without finding that they have already been recorded.

> But I pray you tell me in rules of Phisicke, haue you no medicine for the malady of the mine? (*Mach.* v. iii. 40).
> 1604 *Wit of a Woman* D 1 b.
> All say twas done, yet none
> Say twas well done. (*Macb.* i. vii. 1-2).
> 1610 Mason *Mulleasses the Turke* iii. iv. G 3, in Bang's *Materialien* I. 1581, p. 49.
> *Sir John Foulis of Ravelstons Account Book* (Scottish Historical Society ed. 1894, vol. xvi), p. 3.
> Like one of the wayward Sisters he [the Detractor] spightfully picks the foul and poysonous Weeds out of the fairest Garden of Mens fruitful Labors, wherewith to work his wicked sorceries.
> 1673 *Raillerie a la Mode,* p. 52.
> Yes, injur'd fair,
> To the last Periods of recording Time,
> Thy fragrant Name shall bless the World! (*Macb.* v. v. 21).
> 1696 Mrs. Mary Pix. *Ibrahim* iv. p. 26.

The early date of the passage from the *Wit of a Woman* makes it important. I do not say that it could be made to prove anything about the date of *Macbeth.* But if there has been any borrowing, a consideration of the whole passage in *Wit of a Woman* would rather lead me to believe that it was Shakspere who was imitated. At any rate, the idea in *Macbeth* is natural, quite what we should expect in the context, and it is not so natural in *Wit of a Woman.*

Further I have found a reference to *Lear.*

> So soon as they are once touch't in the Crown with These Conceipts: 'tis but Sadling their Noses with a pair of State-Spectacles, and you may perswade them upon New-Market-Heath that they are Tumbling down Dover Cliff.
> L'Estrange's Narrative of the Plot. Set forth for the Edification of His Majesties Liege-People. The Second Edition. 1680. p. 13.

Finally a possible reference to *Henry VIII.*

> What made Cardinal Wolsey (that great Minister of State in our own Nation) to pour forth his soul in those sad words, Had I been as diligent to please my God as I have been to please my King, he would not have forsaken me now in my grey hairs?
> Tillotson *Sermons on Job, xxviii, 28* Works (1720, ed. 8) p. 17.

H. T. PRICE.

University of Michigan.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Arrangements are being made for the annual meeting, banquet and entertainment to celebrate the publication of the First Folio. The meeting will be held in one of the best hotels in New York City on the first Wednesday in December. The afternoon session will be devoted to business, such as it is, and to the reading and discussion of papers on Shaksperian topics; in the evening members and guests will dine in the same hotel and be entertained by a program of Shaksperian songs, music, readings, recitations, etc., by members and others. Dr. Rosenbach will preside. The charge for the entire event is sure to be moderate.

All who want information or wish to participate in the celebration *in any way* are requested to communicate with the secretary promptly. We urge our members to attend the "scientific" (literary) session as well as the banquet and to invite as many of their friends as they possibly can. There will be no charge for attending the afternoon session or the entertainment after the banquet. Come in evening dress if you like; come in your everyday clothes if you prefer that, but, by all means, come and help us celebrate the publication of the greatest and most wonderful book in the world, the book which has given more artistic delight to more people than any other work of man.

All members will receive notice of the meeting and the program.

NEW SHAKSPERES

Editions of Shakspere's works keep pouring from the presses in an endless stream. Each, of course, claims to have a special reason for existence; each has or claims to have, unique "points", and each professes to be just the edition you have been looking for or should have, and which will open up to you the treasures of Shakspere's wonderful mind. Among the recent editions of Shakspere there are four which stand out conspicuously. These are the "new Temple Shakespeare" (edited by Mr. M. R. Ridley and published by E. P. Dutton & Co., at 65 cents per volume); the "Oxford Shakespeare" (Edited by W. J. Craig and published by the Oxford University Press, for $1.00); the "Kittredge Shakespeare" (edited by G. L. Kittredge and published by Ginn & Co., for $6.00), and the "Interlinear Shakespeare" (edited by G. C. Taylor and R. Smith, and published by Ginn & Co., at 52 cents per volume).

The Oxford edition, consisting of 1360 pages, is printed in 8-point type and weighs two pounds, contains no introductory matter but has a glossary. The textual errors of previous editions have been corrected. We can't imagine a better purchase for a dollar in the world.

The just-published "Kittredge Shakespeare" differs from the preceding in having a two-page introduction to each play, being printed in 9-point type (which makes it more easily readable), in consisting of 1560 pages, in weighing 3½ pounds (which makes it less portable by students), and in

having a more extensive glossary. The text is almost wholly modernized in spelling and punctuation and not contaminated by bibliographic crotchets.

A limited edition (250 copies) on all-rag paper, numbered and autographed by the editor, is offered at $12.50. Purchasers of the book are entitled to a photogravure portrait of the distinguished editor and teacher. Dr. Kittredge's many friends and ex-students will undoubtedly take advantage of this opportunity to provide themselves with a sane text, reliable data on the plays and poems, and an interesting portrait.

A unique Shakspere projected by Messrs. Ginn & Co. is an interlinear edition under the editorship of Professors Taylor (of the University of North Carolina) and Smith (of the University of South Carolina). The text is printed in large type with sufficient space between the lines for paraphrases and definitions of difficult words and phrases. Distracting footnotes are few in number and often embody really new and interesting interpretations. At the back of the book are pages of questions to test the student's knowledge and to direct his attention to noteworthy points. Each volume is preceded by an interesting and unconventionally written introduction discussing matters relevant to the understanding of the play from Shakspere's viewpoint. The illustrations—of which there is a goodly number in each volume—are sure to be found helpful by students and interesting to scholars, except the one showing "A typical Elizabethan stage". Thus far only *Hamlet, Macbeth, Julius Caesar,* and *The Merchant of Venice* have been issued. We wish the venture success.

Mr. Ridley's edition, which has just been completed with the publication of a one-volume biography and commentary, is characterized mainly by eccentricity as regards text and punctuation; the notes are fortunately few and unfortunately not trustworthy,[1] the glossaries are helpfully arranged scene by scene. The trouble with this edition is that it was made under the influence of the fantastic notions advocated by certain English bibliographers. The text is neither Elizabethan, nor modern, neither fish nor flesh. The three decorations ("engravings")—two to each volume—by Eric Gill are an unpardonable atrocity. (We realize that this sentence is puzzling, but so are the pictures.) The books are beautifully printed, bound in red cloth (gilt), and can easily be carried in one's coat pocket.

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[1] Thus, for example, in his note on *Hamlet,* III, iii, 6, 7, he attributes the emendation "braues" (for Q2's "browes") to D. Wilson; but Furness long ago attributed it to an anonymous emendator; Ridley suggests (p. 182) "brawls". But—"brawls" is Wilson's emendation and he does not even mention "braves".

The October 1936 issue of *Theatre Arts Monthly* carries an essay on "The Stage that Shakespeare Used" which many of our readers will find interesting, especially because of the illustrations. We regret having to caution these readers not to accept the author's statements and figures regarding the "Globe Theatre"—about which we really know almost nothing. From an architectural viewpoint we think the author's reconstruction almost impossible. In the November issue of our esteemed contemporary Dr. John C. Adams, the writer of the essay, will show how *Romeo and Juliet* might have been played in his reconstructed theatre in Shakspere's day. We await this essay with keen interest.